

# GREEK·ROMAN·AND BYZANTINE·STUDIES

Founded by

JOHN J. BILITZ

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# CONTENTS

<i>Editorial</i> . . . . .	THE EDITORS	5
Bronze Tripods from Kourion . . . . .	J. L. BENSON	7
Homerica . . . . .	G. L. HUXLEY	17
I Homeric Syrie		
II Eugamon		
III A Poem of the Homeridae		
Was Antigone Murdered? . . . .	WILLIAM M. CALDER III	31
The <i>Satiricon</i> and the Christian Oral Tradition	J. ALLEN CABANISS	36
New Fragments of Scholia on Sophocles' <i>Ajax</i>	MORTON SMITH	40
Three Byzantine Cameos . . . . .	MARVIN C. ROSS	43
Nietzsche and Greek Studies . . . .	JAMES A. COULTER	46

## PLATES

*following page*

J. L. BENSON, Bronze Tripods from Kourion

- |   |  |    |
|---|--|----|
| 1 | Bronze Rod Tripod from Kourion, <i>ca.</i> 1050 B.C. | 12 |
| 2 | Sketches of Strut and Rod Tripods                    | 12 |

MORTON SMITH, New Fragments of Scholia on Sophocles' *Ajax*

- |   |                                       |    |
|---|---------------------------------------|----|
| 3 | MS. Mar Saba 21, <i>folio 1 verso</i> | 40 |
| 4 | MS. Mar Saba 21, <i>folio 2 recto</i> | 40 |

MARVIN C. ROSS, Three Byzantine Cameos

- |   |   |    |
|---|---|----|
| 5 | Pendant in the Kremlin Museum                             | 44 |
| 6 | Cameos in Venice and Baltimore                            | 44 |
| 7 | Double Cameo in the Collection of<br>Count Cini in Venice | 44 |
| 8 | Cameo set in the Crown of Bohemia, Prague                 | 44 |

## Editorial

GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE STUDIES has been founded to demonstrate the continuity of the Greek tradition from the rise of Mycenae to the fall of Constantinople — and beyond as far as the tradition can be followed into the contemporary world. In the pursuit of this objective, literature and art, archaeology and history, religion and philosophy will find place. Our primary area of concern is the Greek East, both pagan and Christian. ROMAN in the title means to convey our equal emphasis upon the Greek world in Roman times; and our recognition that the Byzantine period is intelligible only in the light of its legacy through Rome.

We deplore the growing mutual estrangement among classicists, Byzantinists, and patristic scholars. We shall try to combat the fragmentation of the field into isolated parties of specialists — whether Mycenists or liturgiologists — by opening these pages to scholarly articles significant in scope and intelligible in style to every reader interested in any of the special fields or periods of the long and broad current of Hellenism.

Two kinds of articles are contemplated: those which deal directly with some aspect of the Hellenic tradition over long periods; and those which deal rather with particular manifestations of Hellenism occurring in short periods. We think that the tradition lives today, charged with vitality as powerful as ever. In these pages we should like to draw upon, and to transmit, something of the Hellenic *δύναμις*.

Though the Hellenic tradition will be conceived broadly, there must be limits to what can be accepted. Specialist articles highly technical and narrowly defined belong rather to journals devoted to their respective areas of specialization. For the large textual publication of documents we must count upon our esteemed elders among American journals; similarly for excavation reports, for numismatic corpora, for special studies of artistic types: normally we shall be able to print only shorter pieces of general interest. Ephemeral matter, such as news and routine reviews, we must eschew; but we shall hope to present an occasional review-article as an essay on the subject of a significant book.



Some of the articles in each issue will appear by invitation of the editors. To our contributors we offer criticism by responsible referees (to whom we record our great indebtedness), prompt decision, and early publication. Articles will bear the date of their submission. Plates essential to the text are welcomed; four or eight may be published in each number. Volumes will be indexed at frequent intervals. Contributors are requested to observe the style described in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 62 (1958) 1-8. To our contributors we take pleasure in paying a modest honorarium.

Two series supplementing this journal are established: GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE MONOGRAPHS and GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE SCHOLARLY AIDS. The former has been inaugurated by the recently published Monograph 1: G. L. Huxley, *Anthemius of Tralles, a Study in Later Greek Geometry*. The monographs may be technical and special: apart from scholarly quality there will be no restriction on the character of their content. Long articles (longer than most journals can accept) as well as book-length studies will be published. No special invitation will be issued, and no honorarium can be paid.

The series GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE SCHOLARLY AIDS will begin shortly with an *Index* to the passages quoted in H. W. Smyth's *Greek Grammar*. The purpose of the series will be to place in the hands of scholars at low cost tools which will prove indispensable. Requests and suggestions are invited.

A new scholarly journal is not established without travail. GREEK, ROMAN, AND BYZANTINE STUDIES was founded by the imagination and published for two years by the industry of one man, John J. Bilitz. It is now being carried forward by a board of editors and an advisory board. Its first two volumes, sent to initial subscribers, contained two issues each. Four issues are planned in 1960 for Volume 3. The journal will be issued hereafter on a regular quarterly basis; the two supplementary series irregularly, as opportunity permits. Addresses for communications to the Editor and to the Circulation Manager are given on the inside front cover.

And so the new journal may be allowed to make its bow. Defined as we have tried to, it has, we believe, a scope and intent not precisely the same as that of any other existing journal.

# Bronze Tripods from Kourion

J. L. Benson

ONE OF THE MOST OFTEN CITED EXAMPLES of continuity between the Late Bronze Age and the Geometric Period in the Aegean area is a distinctive type of bronze tripod, of which a number have been associated with Kourion. The occurrence of yet another example in a dated tomb excavated by the late J. F. Daniel is sufficient reason — especially since the example is an interesting and somewhat problematic one — to call attention to it in a special notice apart from the general publication of the necropolis of Kaloriziki at Kourion. It also gives occasion to provide a critical check-list of the known specimens of this category which may help to put the new member of the group in its proper place.

The piece in question (Plate 1) has the catalogue number K 1088 and is from Tomb 39, assigned to the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania where its accession number is 49-12-1053. It consists of a ring, legs, oblique rods and horizontal struts. The ring is decorated horizontally with a moulded leaf pattern comparable to that impressed on the handle of a (clay) jar found in a somewhat earlier context at the neighboring site of Bamboula.<sup>1</sup> The center line, however, consists of a single rib and the leaves are more schematically conceived and placed, rather like grains of wheat. The ring consists of one long strip soldered together at the top of one of the ogival arches formed by oblique rods. The pattern described above appears in positive relief on both the inside and outside of the strip.

There are three cast legs, each terminating in a cloven hoof, but there is no further articulation to suggest that any particular ruminant animal was intended. The legs taper gradually to the top where they are flanked by volutes so that the entire leg suggests basically

<sup>1</sup>*The Aegean and the Near East: Studies presented to Hetty Goldman* (Locust Valley 1956) Pl. 8: Fig. 12, B 1432.



an Ionic column. The volutes are in the same relief technique as the ring pattern. It is difficult to be certain at what stage these were joined to the tripod. They could have been cast along with either the ring or the legs (or perhaps neither).<sup>2</sup> In one instance the leg apparently did not fit smoothly between the volutes so that an amorphous blob of bronze has been clumsily "plastered" over their front and back, largely obscuring them. On the other hand, the oblique rods were almost certainly cast with the legs, from each side of which they diverge like a branch. Where they met at the main ring they were soldered together and the union was sealed with a vertically placed loop which could have received a pendant. Since, however, the tripod is in relatively good condition and no pendants were found, it seems reasonable to assume that none was ever placed in it. The horizontal struts seem likewise to have been cast with the legs. The ends were then soldered to a horizontal center ring which in the sense of design repeats and unites the vertical loops of the oblique rods.

The condition of the bronze is in general good; the surface is lustrous dark brown in color and has been attacked by only a few spots of green disease. One leg and its adjoining struts were poorly and clumsily cast and display not only greatly uneven thickness but a kind of granulated dark green surface. One of the oblique rods became very thin; a section of it is missing but this break may have occurred in antiquity, indeed during manufacture. The same clumsy technique is evident in the manufacture and joining of the horizontal ring to the horizontal struts and in the joining of the oblique rods of the poorly cast leg to the vertical rings they touch. All of this is in marked contrast to the more professional look of the remainder of the workmanship and leads one to wonder whether such clumsiness does not belong to a repair rather than the manufacture of the object. In any case, it must be admitted that the entire piece, though potentially handsome, is marred by a certain warped asymmetry.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>For a comment on casting technique, see *JHS* 70 (1950) 17.

<sup>3</sup>The extent of this will be evident in the dimensions:

The diameter of the ring varies between 10 cm. and 10.2 cm.

The height of the tripod varies between 10.5 cm. and 11.2 cm.

The span of the legs varies between 12 cm. and 13.6 cm.



It is not necessary to discuss the context of K 1088 in any detail as there is no complication of any kind in its dating. Tomb 39 was found intact, housing a single cremation burial in an urn and thirty-three grave gifts, mostly pottery. Several plain hemispherical bronze bowls, of a sort and size which might have rested in the tripod, accompanied the burial. Also of interest are a bronze strainer (K 1086) and an iron knife (K 1101.) The pottery allowed the burial to be dated to the Cypro-Geometric IA period, or to the years after 1050 B.C., according to the chronology worked out for the Kourion excavations.

In order to relate K 1088 to other tripods found in the Aegean and Near East areas, and particularly to focus attention on the distribution of these, I have prepared a list based on type and find place, thus both bringing up-to-date and expanding in scope the list of P. Riis in *Acta Archaeologia* 10 (1939) 5ff. (hereafter referred to as Riis, with appropriate numbers from his list; in general I have avoided repeating references given by him unless some comment on them is necessary).

#### I. ROD TRIPODS

*Kourion* (No. 1 is only putatively from this site)<sup>4</sup>

1. New York. G. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* (New York 1915) 345:1180 (hereafter referred to as *GERB*) with three illustrations and references to older literature; Riis, No. 1; G. Richter, *Handbook of the Greek Collection* (Cambridge, Mass. 1953) 17, Pl. 10a; J. du Plat Taylor and others, *Myrtou-Pigadhes* (Oxford 1957) 89 (hereafter referred to as *Pigadhes*). Animal frieze on ring; volutes and leaf design on legs. H: 37.4 cm. There has been considerable variation in the dates suggested. Richter in *GERB*: "not . . . later than about 1300-1200 B.C."; in *Handbook*: "about 1200 B.C. or a little later." Myres, *Cesnola Collection*, 480 "perhaps as early as 1200 B.C." Benton, *BSA* 35 (1934-5) 124: "hardly . . . after 1450 B.C." Riis: not before 1450 B.C.

2. Nicosia, CM Cat. 299. E. Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus* (Uppsala 1926) 238:3; Riis, No. 7; P. Dikaios, *Guide to the Cyprus Museum* (Nicosia 1953) 32:139D; *AJA* 58 (1954) Pl. 27:39. Volutes like No. 1 and bull protomes where struts join legs. H: 40 cm. This tripod is classified by G. McFadden as Find No. 37 of a tomb at Kaloriziki which I have designated as Tomb

<sup>4</sup>One might also take into account here components of an elaborate bronze vessel generally designated as being part of a cauldron for use on a tripod: W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (London 1929) 32, Pl. 10a (hereafter referred to as *GRB*). However, the more complete example of a vessel with similar components from Kaloriziki, Tomb 40 (*AJA* 58 [1954] Pl. 21) proved to be a kind of krater.

40 of the series excavated under the auspices of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. In the final publication of this series the absolute date of the context of this tripod is being regarded as 1100–1050 B.C.

3. Nicosia, CM Cat. 310. Gjerstad, *op. cit.* 238:2; Riis, No. 6; *AJA* 58 (1954) Pl. 27:38; *Pigadhes*, 89. Concentric circles on ring; goat protomes on leg. H: 13.5 cm. From same tomb as No. 2.

4. Nicosia, CM 309. Gjerstad, *op. cit.* 238:1; Riis, No. 5, where it is grouped with my Nos. 2–3 (from Tomb 40) as being from Kourion. Since this tripod is neither specifically identified nor commented on by Gjerstad, I do not know where Riis got his information about the provenance. Dr. H. W. Catling kindly writes that there is no evidence to support it. I quote from his letter to supplement the poor illustration which does not facilitate any description beyond a double ring and legs with volutes: "The lower part of each leg is hammered flat and is cloven, perhaps to suggest the cloven hoof of some ruminant." H: 11.5 cm.

5. Philadelphia, UM 49–12–1053. K 1088 from Kaloriziki, Tomb 39. Foliate pattern on ring; volutes. See detailed description in this article. H: 11.6 cm. Cypro-Geometric IA context (thus, 1050 B.C. or slightly later). PLATE 1.

#### *Enkomi*

6. London, BM 97.4–1.1571. This is perhaps the piece alluded to by Smith, Walters and Murray, *Excavations in Cyprus* (London 1900) 17 (hereafter referred to as *ExC*) in which case the reference to *ibid.*, Fig. 30:1517 is somewhat misleading; *GRB* 34:6 (Miss Lamb says it was put together too late to be published with the other Enkomi finds); E. H. Hall, *Excavations on Eastern Crete: Vrokaastro* (Philadelphia 1914) Pl. 34:3, where it is wrongly identified as BM 97.4–1.1516; Riis, No. 8; E. Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV, Pt. 2 (Stockholm 1948) 149:25 (hereafter referred to as *SCE*); *Opuscula Atheniensia* II (1955) 33: according to H. W. Catling, BM 97.4–1.1571, which is No. 76 of Walters' catalogue (see reference under No. 7), may be either from OT 15 or more likely from the Foundry site. Bands of rope pattern on ring; Ionic volutes on leg. Apparently only one pendant is preserved. H: 43 cm.

7. London, BM 97.4–1.1516. Riis, No. 4. Add the following references: H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan . . . in the British Museum* (London 1899) 5:62; *JdI* 26 (1911) 288, ". . . Miniatur Dreifuss, der mit einem in einem athenischen Dipylongrab gefundenen, grösseren Dreifuss formell bis in die kleinsten Details übereinstimmt" (on this basis Poulsen dates the Dipylon grave not much later than 1000 B.C.); F. Poulsen, *Dipylongräber* (Leipzig 1905) 29; *Vrokaastro*, 132ff. (notice that Pl. 34:3 illustrates BM 97.4–1.1571); B. Schweitzer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der geometrischen Stile Griechenlands I* (Karlsruhe 1917) 39. A confrontation of Walters' description with Poulsen's remarks suggests that the latter not be taken too literally. Ionic volutes and a projecting rim around the ring (*cf.* No. 8). See also n. 7. H: 11.5 cm. The list of contents of OT 58, from which this specimen came, as recorded in *ExC*, 31, suggests a date not



earlier than Late Cypriote IIIA for the tomb; however, since the excavation was not conducted on a stratigraphic basis, no reliance can be placed on this. *N.B.* Unpublished rod tripods from Kokkinokremnos (Larnaca) and in the "Florence Museum" are mentioned by H. W. Catling (for reference, see Nos. 17-20).

### *Vroḱastro*

8. Herakleion. Riis, No. 9. Add reference to *Vroḱastro*, Fig. 80. Plain ring, Ionic volutes and attenuated foot. H: 37.7 cm. Occurs in a tomb with pottery originally described as Sub-Mycenaean or Early Geometric, now more accurately specified as Protogeometric: cf. P. Demargne, *La Crète Dédalique* (Paris 1947) 237 (hereafter referred to as *Crète D.*). T. Dunbabin in *Gnomon* 24 (1952) 195 suggests the possibility of lowering this date a little.

### *Knossos*

9. Herakleion. Riis, No. 11. Plain ring, Ionic volutes, struts and ogival supports like K 1088. Midriff on leg extends to abacus. H: 18 cm. From Grave 3. For dating of context, see Schweitzer, *Untersuchungen* I 39; *Vroḱastro*, 132ff., "fully developed style of geometric pottery"; *BSA* 29 (1927/8), end of Protogeometric period; *Crète D.*, 240, where the possibility of Cretan manufacture is suggested; J. Brock, *Fortetsa* (Cambridge 1957) 22.

10. Herakleion. Riis, No. 10. *JHS* 70 (1950) 17; *Fortetsa*, 22:188, Pls. 13, 138. On ring, two rows of spiral decoration in coiled wire; Ionic volutes and vertical running spirals on legs. H: 17. Brock dates 950-900 B.C., Miss Benton apparently *ca.* 800 B.C.

### *Tiryns*

11. Athens, NM 6229. Riis, No. 3. Rope pattern on ring and legs, which have Ionic volutes. Flattened feet. Pendants: pomegranates (4), birds (4). Bull protome and two ram protomes where struts join legs. H: 34. Preserved is also the bronze basin which sits on the stand (*Jdl* 55 [1930] 132, Fig. 4). Miss Lamb dates tentatively to the tenth century B.C. *Crète D.*, 239: "Il peut dater . . . de l'extrême fin de l'époque mycénienne."

*Pnyx*, Athens (near Athenian slaughterhouse in plain SW of extreme spur of Pnyx)

12. Athens, NM 7940. Riis, No. 12. Groups of double spirals (bordered by rope design) on ring. Ionic volutes and leaf design on legs. Extra quarter circle supports under struts. H: 45 cm. Also preserved is the handleless bronze basin which sits on the stand (*AM* 18 [1893] Pl. 14). The late Geometric pots NM 2876-2883 (*AM* 18 [1893] 414ff.) accompanied the tripod. Poulsen's date of *ca.* 1000 B.C. for the context (see No. 7) is too early. Miss Benton in *JHS* 70 (1950) 17 suggests tentatively the first half of the eighth century B.C. R. S. Young, *Hesperia Suppl.* II (1939) 48, 74: "late eighth century."



*Olympia*

13. Olympia(?). GRB 34 and n. 3. *Olympia* IV (A. Furtwängler, *Die Bronzen* [Berlin 1890]) 130: 823–824. Several volutes of rod tripods.

*Beth-Shan*

14. Jerusalem, Palestine Archaeological Museum. Riis, No. 2. Rope bands on ring and perhaps also on legs. Ionic volutes. H: 33 cm. (information from curator). Date tentatively suggested by excavators: first half of twelfth century B.C.

## II. STRUT TRIPODS

*Enkomi*

15. London, BM. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes*, 5:61; *ExC*, 16, Fig. 30; *Jdl* 26 (1911) 232 (where it is described as a simplified form of No. 12); Schweitzer, *Untersuchungen* I, 40. Wavy line on ring. Vertical loops below this for pendants. H: 8.9 cm. From T. 97. Found with a bronze stand (*ExC*, 10, Fig. 18) and "Mycenaean saucers" (apparently discarded by the excavators).

*Idalion*

16. New York. GERB, 348:1181, with other literature. Add: SCE IV, Pt. 2, 149:26. Karo, *AM* (1920) 129, erroneously refers to this piece as being from Kourion. Horizontal zigzag on ring, vertical ridges and floral designs on legs. Elongated pendants. H: 9.5. Richter ascribes to the Late Mycenaean period.

*Myrtou-Pigadhes*: the date suggested by H. W. Catling for these specimens is 1250–1200 B.C.

17. Nicosia, CM. *Pigadhes*, 88:416. Plain ring and legs. Three pendants. H: 6.5 cm.

18. Nicosia, CM. *Pigadhes*, 88:417. Concentric circles on ring, legs plain. The feet are apparently elaborate stylizations of animal claws. H: 8.2 cm.

19. Nicosia, CM. *Pigadhes*, 88:418. Horizontal zigzag on rim. Two pairs of converging relief lines on legs. H: 9.9 cm.

*Amathus*

20. Nicosia, CM. *Pigadhes*, 89.

*Ras Shamra*

21. Damascus. Riis, No. 9. C. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III (Paris 1956) 267, Fig. 232. Ridge in center of ring, which has a flat rim. Legs have three metallic ridges and taper markedly to panthers' claws which rest on raised struts joining in a rosette. Fifteen vertical loops on underside of ring for pendants of two different types. H: 12 cm. Schaeffer (*op. cit.* 255) dates the deposit in which this tripod was found to the fourteenth century B.C.



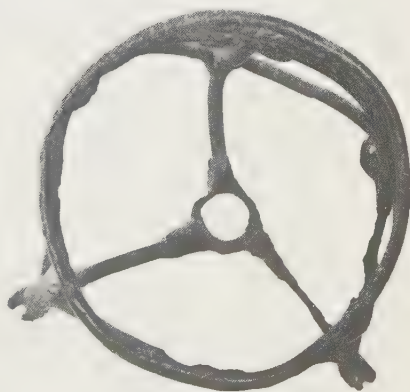
*Figure 1*



*Figure 2*



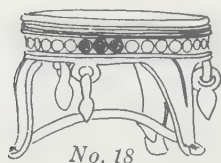
*Figure 3*



*Figure 4*

BRONZE ROD TRIPOD FROM KOURION, *ca.* 1050 B.C.

(Photos by Linda Benson)



No. 18



No. 15



No. 21



No. 17

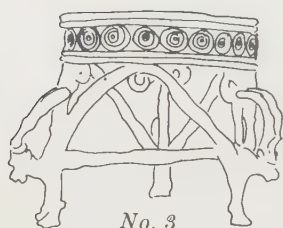


No. 19

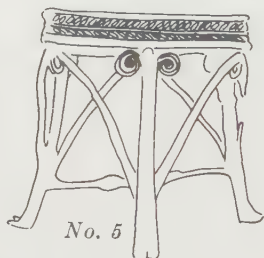


No. 16

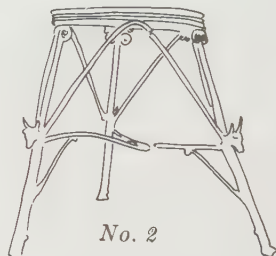
Figure 5. Strut Tripods



No. 3



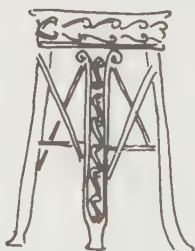
No. 5



No. 2



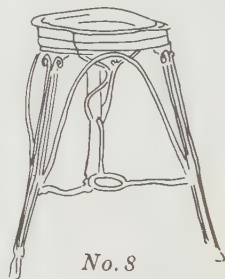
No. 1



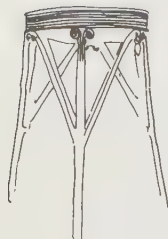
No. 10



No. 9



No. 8



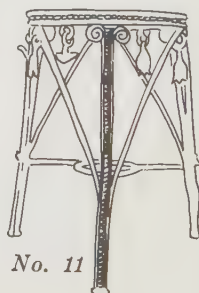
No. 6



No. 14



No. 12



No. 11

Figure 6. Rod Tripods

SKETCHES OF STRUT AND ROD TRIPODS  
(Sketches not to uniform scale)



Among scholars who have recently dealt with this subject Gjerstad,<sup>5</sup> following Riis, accepts Cyprus or the Cypro-Syrian area as the original home of the rod tripod and assumes that those rod tripods found in Greece and Crete, being of the same type, are imports from Cyprus. These are then cited again and again as evidence of commercial or cultural contact between Greece and Cyprus during the Protogeometric and earlier Geometric period, although they admittedly stand alone so far.<sup>6</sup> This is, in fact, the customary interpretation found in archaeological literature;<sup>7</sup> several scholars, including Gjerstad, have, however, made the suggestion that at least some of the tripods found in Crete may be local imitations.<sup>8</sup>

If it is at all possible to make a contribution to the subject at this stage, that contribution must consist in an attempt to bring into sharper focus, on the basis of the assured chronology of various Kourion pieces and of whatever stylistic analysis is possible, a picture which is generally painted in rather sweeping terms, as can be seen from the summary above.

It is logical to begin with the strut tripods as being the older type. From the table presented immediately below (see also Plate 2) it is clear that we may ascribe to them origin and use in the Late Bronze Age. Here is obviously an oriental miniature type which apparently did not ever reach the Greek world; the question of its survival into Geometric times must await publication of No. 20. Place of manufacture, whether Cyprus or Syria, cannot be decided as of now but is relatively unimportant.

#### Group A

No.	FIND PLACE	HEIGHT	TYPE OF FOOT	DATE OF CONTEXT
15.	Enkomi	8.9 cm.	plain termination?	Late Cypriote II-III
16.	Idalion	9.5 cm.	claws	Late Bronze
17.	Pigadhes	6.5 cm.	claws	1250-1200 B.C.
18.	Pigadhes	8.2 cm.	claws	1250-1200 B.C.
19.	Pigadhes	9.9 cm.	claws (?)	1250-1200 B.C.
21.	Ras Shamra	12.0 cm.	claws	1400-1300 B.C.

<sup>5</sup>SCE IV 403. I use the terms 'rod tripod' and 'strut tripod' as H. W. Catling, *Pigadhes*, 89, *Ibid.*, 417, 420, 447.

<sup>7</sup>Cf., e.g., GRB, 32; BSA 35 (1934/5) 124.

<sup>8</sup>SCE IV 403; GRB, 32, n. 3. Demargne (*Crète D*, 240) seems to suggest survival in Crete of a Mycenaean tradition as the explanation of the examples found there.

The rod tripods do not present such a unified picture and have so far not been well dated. It is just at this point that the Kourion evidence is valuable. No. 3 with a *terminus ante quem* of 1050 B.C. and No. 5 with a *terminus ante quem* of perhaps 1000 B.C. are extremely reminiscent in their size, squat proportions and use of animal feet (which are now hooves rather than claws) of the earlier strut tripods (see Plate 2 and list below).<sup>9</sup> It would appear likewise that the pendants for which loops are always provided on the rod tripods were derived from the strut type.

*Group B*

NO.	FIND PLACE	HEIGHT	TYPE OF FOOT	DATE OF CONTEXT	SPECIAL FEATURES
3.	Kourion, NT 40	13.5 cm.	hooves	1100-1050 B.C.	goat protomes
4.	uncertain	11.5 cm.	cloven	—	
5.	Kourion, NT 39	11.6 cm.	hooves	1050-1000 B.C.	
7.	Enkomi, OT 58	11.5 cm.	rounded	Late Cypriote IIIA?	

On the basis of these factors it seems possible to consider the rod tripod, at least tentatively, as an evolved form of the strut tripod with a distinct tendency toward Mycenaean decorative features. At the time concerned, such an evolution could perhaps have occurred more easily in Cyprus, in view of the Greek colonists there, than on the Syro-Palestinian littoral. Again, however, there is no really decisive criterion for deciding this point. Furthermore, the problem is complicated by the appearance at Kourion of No. 2 simultaneously with No. 3. Although with the same hooves, Ionic volutes and protomes (though of bulls rather than of goats), No. 2 is both a more monumental and a more graceful version of the rod tripod. If there was an evolution, the large and the small type must have emerged simultaneously, or nearly so. On the basis of time lag in tombs one might rather easily push this event back somewhat into the twelfth century B.C. In any case, it seems reasonable to associate No. 1, if it is from Kourion, with the group just discussed; even if it is not, stylistic correspondence is striking enough to ensure the association: several commentators have arrived at a dating only slightly higher on a purely arbitrary basis.

<sup>9</sup>No. 7, on which little information is available, has been tentatively ranged with Nos. 3 and 5 as being of the same type. Dr. H. W. Catling kindly informs me that "the legs have no true feet; they curve outwards at their lower end, and are rounded off at their extremities."

We are now obliged to deal with Nos. 6 and 14, from Enkomi and Beth-Shan respectively. These two form a unit and a new departure: in comparison with the Kourion group they are much simplified in their decoration. Notice particularly the squared feet, simple rings and lack of protomes. Unfortunately, the date of each is rather uncertain. The excavators of No. 14 suggested the early twelfth century B.C. On the basis of the Kourion group it does not seem rash to suggest the later rather than the earlier part of this century; be that as it may, we seem to have here a third roughly contemporary version of the rod tripod. It is no longer difficult to suggest that the invention of the rod tripod was accomplished to the accompaniment of experimentation with types. It is perhaps not insignificant that the square feet unite Nos. 6 and 14 with several tripods found on Greek soil.<sup>10</sup> It is a natural, but I think not inevitable, conclusion that all this experimentation went on in the Levant. If the square-footed type should be a mainland version of the Levantine type, then the find place of Nos. 6 and 14 could be explained, if not by commerce, at least by the movements of people.

*Group C*

NO.	FIND PLACE	HEIGHT	TYPE OF FOOT	DATE OF CONTEXT
6.	Enkomi	43 cm.	squared	Late Cypriote IIIA/B?
11.	Tiryns	34 cm.	squared	Sub-Mycenaean?
12.	Pnyx	45 cm.	squared	800-700 B.C.?
14.	Beth-Shan	33 cm.	squared	Twelfth century B.C.

It has already been suggested that the group of tripods found in Crete might be of local manufacture. These specimens are related formally by a very similar type of foot which looks as if it might have originated as a stylization of the animal foot; it can be described as attenuated. Certainly all of these tripods appear to be of roughly the same period, the tenth century B.C., and are thus a little later than the Kourion group.

<sup>10</sup>The date of the context of No. 11 is uncertain; the contextual date of No. 12 is much later than one might expect. Nevertheless, it seems logical to me to suppose that No. 12 originated in the general epoch when the others of its class were made. I am uncertain how the fragments found at Olympia (No. 13) are related to the other examples found in Greece.



*Group D*

NO.	FIND PLACE	HEIGHT	TYPE OF FOOT	DATE
8.	Vrokastro	37.7 cm.	attenuated	Protogeometric
9.	Knossos	18 cm.	attenuated	Protogeometric
10.	Knossos	17 cm.	attenuated	950-900 B.C.

To summarize the results of this investigation, which should be taken as a progress report rather than as laying claim to any finality:<sup>11</sup> the so-called Cypriote type of rod tripod is a phenomenon of the twelfth to tenth centuries B.C.; it is, in effect, a later version of the strut tripod; its origin, but not necessarily all the manifestations of its development, is to be sought in the Levant. Thus, in the decoration of a striking type of funerary or cult object, we are confronted with the efflorescence throughout the Greek world of the Mycenaean spirit during the critical period of transition between the Late Bronze Age and the Geometric Period. It is sometimes assumed that this is not remarkable if the phenomenon occurred in Cyprus, since the Mycenaean culture is supposed to have "survived" longer there.<sup>12</sup> But a close study of the pottery and artifacts of the Transitional and Geometric Periods in Cyprus would show that a relentless evolution and metamorphosis went on there as elsewhere. True, many elements of Mycenaean civilization were integrated into the new culture there just as they were in the whole Greek world. But the flourishing of objects so overtly Mycenaean in spirit as these is as significant a phenomenon against the general Cypriote background as it is on the Cretan and mainland scene. It is a reflection of the fact that during the so-called "Dark Ages" there was, in some phases of life at least, a strong sense of continuity between past and present.

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<sup>11</sup>On this basis I have not attempted to discuss the related problem of the so-called stands of which several have been found in Cyprus.

<sup>12</sup>See, e.g., GRB, 32.

# Homerica

G. L. Huxley

## I

### Homeric Syrie

Νῆσός τις Συρίη κικλήσκεται, εἴ που ἀκούεις  
Ὀρτυγίης καθύπερθεν, ὅθι τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο.  
(Homer, *Odyssey* 15.403-4)

“THERE IS AN ISLAND called Syrie” says Eumaeus to Odysseus, “— you perhaps have heard of it — above Ortygie, where are the turnings of the sun.” On the words “turnings of the sun” the scholiasts remark: “They say there is a cave of the sun there, through which they mark the turnings of the sun (QV). As it were towards the turnings of the sun, which is westwards, above Delos (BHQ). — So Aristarchus and Herodian (H).” Both explanations assume that Syrie is the island of Syros, and Ortygie Delos. Evidently there was supposed to be a sun cave at Syros in Hellenistic times; it was probably to the same marker that Diogenes Laertius [1.119] referred.

Syros cannot be Syrie, for the difference in length of the up-silons is an insuperable difficulty. Nor can Ortygie be Delos, the two places being distinct in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo: Leto is there said to have given birth to Apollo on Delos and to Artemis at Ortygie [16]. There were Ortygias at Syracuse and Ephesus, and there may well have been others at places where quails landed during their migrations.<sup>1</sup> Miss H. L. Lorimer suggested that Syrie was Syria,<sup>2</sup> but Homer was surprisingly ignorant if he took Syria to be an island, and the Phoenicians of the swineherd's story would hardly have been thought to stay a whole year in a country so close to

<sup>1</sup>G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge 1957) 54 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup>H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950) 80-84.

Phoenicia.<sup>3</sup> Guided by the words of Eumaeus, we must look elsewhere for Syrie.

In the *Odyssey* [5.123] Orion is said to have been slain by Artemis at Ortygie, after he had been carried thither by Eos. The mention of Eos, the dawn, led Miss Lorimer to the view that Ortygie lay in the east.<sup>4</sup> Eos was commonly thought to dwell in Aia, and since Aia was a part of the land of Colchis,<sup>5</sup> Ortygie lay east of Greece, and probably in the Black Sea region.

By the words ὅθι τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο Homer cannot have meant anything so complicated as a place in which solstices were marked; it is impossible in Greek of any period for the expression to mean a cave for marking the turnings of the sun, as the scholia would have it. The natural meaning of the words ὅθι τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο is "in the direction of the solstice."

Solstices, as Kirk and Raven maintain, would normally be observed at sunrise,<sup>6</sup> so that "where the summer solstice is" indicates the position in which the sun is observed to rise at midsummer; similarly "where the winter solstice is" points to the position at which it rises at midwinter. Records of the summer solstice are those most needed for calendary reckoning; therefore the simple expression ὅθι τροπαὶ ἡελίοιο would naturally call to mind the direction of the point on the horizon where the sun "turns" on the ecliptic at midsummer. Ortygie and Syrie thus lie north-east by east of Greece, since Odysseus and Eumaeus are talking in Ithaca. Here again the cryptic words of Homer point in the general direction of the Euxine.

The precise meaning of the first words of Eumaeus is not at once clear: they can mean either "there is an island called Syrie" or possibly "there is a kind of island that is called Syrian," if stress is laid on τις. The inhabitants of Levantine Syria and the Assyrians were not the only Syrians known to the Greeks, for the Pontic Syroi or Leukosyroi are well attested in early writers.<sup>7</sup> They lived in the

<sup>3</sup>Kirk and Raven, *op.cit.* 54 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Lorimer, *op.cit.* 80ff.

<sup>5</sup>Schol. to A.R. 2.413 (p. 164 Wendel).

<sup>6</sup>*op.cit.* 54 n. 3.

<sup>7</sup>Hecat. *FGrHist* 1 F 200, 1 F 201; Hdt. 1.76. See Th. Nöldeke, *Hermes* 5 (1871) 443-468.



hinterland of Sinope in the country about Pteria, and once they had held the land in which the Milesian founders of Sinope settled.

There had also been a Phrygian settlement in the land of the Leukosyroi, for west of Sinope lay the little port of Armene.<sup>8</sup> The name points to an Armenian settlement, and the Armenians were colonists of the Phrygians.<sup>9</sup> The Halys flowed from a Mount Armenion to the sea east of Sinope.<sup>10</sup> The natural harbors of Sinope gave to Phrygia an outlet to the Euxine in her most prosperous age before the Cimmerian invasions, at the time when Kyme was her outlet to the Aegean. Through Sinope Phrygia could trade with Urartu, and, through Kyme, with the west in the period of her thalassocracy in the late eighth century B.C.

The presence of Armeno-Phrygian settlers in the land of the Leukosyroi before the coming of the Greeks gave rise to the legend of a Thessalian foundation earlier than the Milesian;<sup>11</sup> the Thes-salians were supposed to have come from Ormenion or Armenion, but the fiction is transparent.<sup>12</sup> The founders Autolycus, Deileon, and Phlogius, who came to war against the Amazons about Sinope from Ormenion in Thessaly, are taken over from the earlier Phrygian settlers. Both Phlogius and Autolycus later had oracles at Sinope; they are heroes of an indigenous cult, hellenized by the Milesians.<sup>13</sup>

The change from A to O, as in Armenos and Ormenos, Atreus, and Otreus, is typically Phrygian. The father of Eumaeus was Ktesios Ormenides. His name is rare, but the patronymic, son of Ormenus or Armenus, is found twice on the Trojan side in Homer,<sup>14</sup> and points to a Phrygian or an Armenian. Eumaeus, then, came from a Phrygian princely line; that is why Homer calls the swineherd "a marshaller of men."<sup>15</sup>

All Homer's hints in the story of Eumaeus point to the Pontic

<sup>8</sup>Anon. *Per.Pont.Euxin.* 20 (C. Muller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*<sup>2</sup> 1 [Paris 1882] 407); Arrian, *Periplus* 14 (p. 84 ed. G. Marengi); St.Byz. s.v. 'Αρμένη; Str. 12.545.

<sup>9</sup>Hdt. 7.73.

<sup>10</sup>Hdt. 1.72.

<sup>11</sup>Ps.Scymnus 946.

<sup>12</sup>P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* (Göttingen 1896) 210.

<sup>13</sup>*AJA* 9 (1905) 306 No. 31. F. Bilabel, *Die Ionische Kolonisation*, *Philologus Supplementband* 14.1 (Leipzig 1920) 33-34.

<sup>14</sup>*Il.* 8.274; 12.187.

<sup>15</sup>*Od.* 15.389.

coast of the Leukosyioi: the name Syrie itself, the name Ormenus, the natural meaning of the expression "where are the turnings of the sun," and the position of Ortygie all show that the poet had one place in mind; that place lay on the coast of the Leukosyrian land. There are no prominent islands on the coast, but the chief landmark to sailors voyaging eastwards along the southern shore of the Pontus is the Chersonese of Sinope. That is the island *νησός τις* which Homer names Syrie, the Syrian. In the twentieth century the Greeks of Sinope still called the promontory of Sinope *νησί*.<sup>16</sup> Syrie lay *above* Ortygie, because the great cape must be rounded before a ship can sail on eastwards to Colchis, Aia, and the land of Eos.

Homer thinks of Syrie as an eighth century Greek would think of the place before the Milesians settled there. His knowledge comes from early Greek exploration of the Pontus, when the land of the Leukosyroi seemed so remote that the Phoenicians are made to spend a whole year there. The date of the passage depends upon the date of the Greek penetration of the Black Sea — a still uncertain matter.<sup>17</sup>

It is sometimes said that the foundation of Sinope by Miletus must have taken place as early as the middle of the eighth century B.C., because Trapezus was a colony of Sinope,<sup>18</sup> and Eusebius dates the foundation of Trapezus in 756 B.C.<sup>19</sup> The reasoning is not close; if the eighth century foundation of Trapezus is historical, the mother city may have been the Arcadian Trapezus,<sup>20</sup> the seat of

<sup>16</sup>D. M. Robinson, *Ancient Sinope* (Diss. Chicago, 1906) 131 n. 4.

<sup>17</sup>There is a sober discussion of the problem by A. J. Graham, "The Date of the Greek Penetration of the Black Sea," *Bulletin of the London Institute of Classical Studies* 5 (1958) 25-42.

<sup>18</sup>F. Miltner, "Die erste Milesische Kolonisation im Südpontus," *Anatolian Studies Buckler* (Manchester 1939) 191-195.

<sup>19</sup>Eus. II.80 (Schoene).

<sup>20</sup>Pausanias (8.3.2) lists Arcadian Trapezus amongst the Arcadian places that founded cities. In 8.27.6 he states that the people of Pontic Trapezus welcomed settlers from Arcadian Trapezus as namesakes and brethren from the mother city at the time of the founding of Megale Polis. The name *Οιζηνίς* in St. Byz. s.v. (Pontic) *Τραπεζοῦς* is possibly, as Meineke suggested, a corruption of the Arcadian name *Ἀζηνίς*. J. A. Cramer (*Asia Minor* I [Oxford 1832] 287) was, so far as I can find, the first to deny that Pontic Trapezus was founded by Arcadians; the words of Pausanias should not be rejected on account of the sameness of names. Arcadian Trapezus may well have been the mother city of a short-lived eighth century settlement, Sinope of a new foundation in the seventh century or later.

the Arcadian kings. The Peloponnesian interest in the Euxine would help to explain the mention of Colchis by Eumelus the Corinthian, who also made Sinope a daughter of Asopus,<sup>21</sup> and who may have made her the mother of Syros by Apollo.<sup>22</sup> The Peloponnesian settlement would not have lasted later than the Cimmerian attacks on Urartu and north eastern Asia Minor in the last quarter of the eighth century. The place may well have been refounded by Sinope in the seventh century B.C.

The Chersonese of Sinope was occupied by the Cimmerians, when they were fleeing from the Scythians;<sup>23</sup> the words of Herodotus here do not entail that there had been no previous Greek settlement at the place. Pseudo-Scymnus [947] noted a settlement led by Habrondas a Milesian, and he was thought to have been killed by the Cimmerians. The settlement evidently was short-lived and there is unlikely to be much archaeological material to prove its existence. The date is about 700 B.C., before the great Cimmerian and Trerian attack on western Asia Minor, which overthrew the might of Phrygia. After the Cimmerians, continues Pseudo-Scymnus, Cous and Cretines, exiles from Miletus, made a synoecism there [951]; that was when the Cimmerian host was overrunning Asia. The last words seem to refer to the raids on Ionia about 675 B.C., after the Cimmerians had moved westwards from their base at Sinope. The earliest finds of Greek material yet made at Sinope belong to the second half of the seventh century,<sup>24</sup> but when the place is better explored traces of the Milesian settlement about 675 B.C. should be found.

According to Nicolas of Damascus,<sup>25</sup> who followed Xanthus the historian of Lydia, the father of Gyges fled to the land of the Syroi who dwelt above Sinope, and married a Syrian woman. His words certainly imply a settlement at Sinope about 700 B.C., in the generation before Gyges, who reigned about 660 B.C. Whether the Sinope is the Phrygian settlement or the first Milesian is not stated, but at least the passage shows that there was a city about 700 B.C.

<sup>21</sup>Frg. 8 Kinkel *ap. Schol. to A.R.* 2.946 (p. 197 Wendel); *cf.* C. M. Bowra, *Hermes* 73 (1938) 213-221.

<sup>22</sup>D.S. 4.72.2; Plu. *Luc.* 23.

<sup>23</sup>Hdt. 4.12.

<sup>24</sup>Graham, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 17) discusses the excavations of Akurgal and Budde at Sinope.

<sup>25</sup>*FGrHist* 90 F 46.

in the land of the Syrians called Sinope. The same fact is implied by the fragment of Eumelus that names Sinope.

Eumaeus says that his homeland was not too full of people, but abounding in flocks and wine and wheat. Such a description well fits the rich land about Sinope, whose natural advantages are carefully described by Strabo.<sup>26</sup> Homer does not name the two cities over which Ktesios held sway, but we can guess. One was the Phrygian settlement of Sinope; the other was Pteria, the Greek name of Hattusas, which once had been the capital of the Hittite Empire. Possibly Syroi and Leukosyroi were the Greeks' names for the survivors of the Hittites who still lived in the country between Pteria and Sinope in the eighth century B.C.

Eumaeus makes his story sound like a prospectus for a colony;<sup>27</sup> such stories as his of lands awaiting settlement in the west and on the shores of the Pontus encouraged the Greeks of the eighth century to sail further afield, first to explore and later to colonize. There is no suggestion in the *Odyssey* that Odysseus went to the Pontus, and even the allusions to the Argonautica are not expressly to the Pontic Argonautica. After the work of Eumelus, however, the Argonautica was firmly connected with the Pontus, and Colchis, which Homer does not mention, entered the Corinthian and Milesian epics. If there is any truth in the Eusebian date for Trapezus, then the *Odyssey's* only mention of a place on the coast of the Euxine, Syrie with Ortygie, should be dated nearer 750 B.C. than 700 B.C. The remote Homeric view of the Pontus is in any case earlier than the work of Eumelus, who lived before the first Mesenian war, that is before the thirties of the eighth century B.C. By the time of the brief founding of Sinope by Habrondas, the Euxine was well known to explorers from Ionia and from mainland Greece, who had no difficulty in sailing there and needed only the motive to do so. The motive was given by the hope of trade with Urartu in the great awakening before the Cimmerian and Trierian invasions. By 700 B.C. the Euxine (I suggest) was well known to the Greeks, but in 750 B.C. the northeastern sea was still strange and remote. It is strange and remote in the *Odyssey*; Odysseus is sup-

<sup>26</sup>Str. 12.545.

<sup>27</sup>Lorimer, *op.cit.* (*supra* n. 2) 80ff.



posed to have heard of Syrie, but not to have been there. The Syrie of Eumaeus is the land of the Leukosyroi as it was known to an Ionian poet about the third quarter of the eighth century B.C.

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## II

### Eugamon

OUR KNOWLEDGE OF EUGAMON'S EPIC POEM the *Telegony* comes from a summary in the *Chrestomathy* of Proclus. Not one hexameter is quoted from his work by an ancient author: Eugamon is a poet without poetry, but I shall show that he is a rewarding subject for literary investigation.

Then there is the *Odyssey* of Homer, wrote Proclus;<sup>1</sup> next two books of the *Telegony* of Eugammon,<sup>2</sup> a Cyrenean, comprising the following:

The suitors are buried by their kinsfolk.

And Odysseus, after sacrificing to the nymphs, sails away to inspect the herds,<sup>3</sup> and is entertained by Polyxenus, and receives a crater as a gift. After that came the story of Trophonius and Agamedes and Augeas. [Since Polyxenus was king of Elis, this part of the poem was certainly set in Peloponnese.]

Then he sails back to Ithaca and offers the sacrifices prescribed by Tiresias. And afterwards he goes to the Thesprotians, and marries Callidice, queen of the Thesprotians. Then the Thesprotians make war on the Brygians under the leadership of Odysseus. Thereupon Ares puts to flight the companions of Odysseus, and Athena engages Ares in battle; but Apollo reconciles them. And after the death of Callidice, Polypoetes son of Odysseus succeeds to the kingdom, and Odysseus goes to Ithaca.

Meanwhile Telegonus, sailing to look for his father, lands in Ithaca and lays the island waste. After marching out to repel him, Odysseus is killed by his son in ignorance. After seeing his mistake Telegonus took the body of his father, with Telemachus and Penelope, to his mother; she made them immortal. And Telegonus married Penelope and Telemachus Circe.

<sup>1</sup>E. Bethe, *Homer II* (Berlin 1922) 186.

<sup>2</sup>The spelling Εὐγάμων was defended by O. Crusius, *Philologus* 54 (1895) 733 with n. 51. Proclus has Εὐγάμμων, Eusebius Εὐγάμων. Crusius thought the name meant 'Hochzeitfreund,' and his spelling is followed by Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* I.i (Munich 1929) 217 n. 4. Cf. A. Hartmann, *Untersuchungen über die Sagen vom Tod des Odysseus* (Munich 1917) 47.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Noemon's herds in Elis: *Od.* 4.630.

Eustathius, commenting on *Odyssey* 16.118, noted: "The Cyrenean who wrote the *Telegony* calls the son of Odysseus by Calypso Telegonus or Teledamus, and his sons by Penelope Telemachus and Arcesilaus." Τηλέδαμον will not scan in an hexameter, and Wilamowitz<sup>4</sup> suggested Τηλέδαπον. In other authorities Telegonus is a son of Circe; Eustathius or his source probably made a slip here. Arcesilaus is plainly due to Eugamon, who wished to connect the royal house of Cyrene with his hero Odysseus.

Other Cyrenean elements can be detected in the plot of the *Telegony*. In a digression Eugamon told the story of the treasury of Augeas and how Trophonius built it. In the *Telegony* the tale may have been depicted upon the crater given by Polyxenus to Odysseus.<sup>5</sup> It is told in enough detail in a fragment of Charax of Pergamum<sup>6</sup> to show that the point of the plot was the same as in the Herodotean tale of the robbing of the treasury of Rhampsinitus: the Egyptian who left the loose stone in the treasury becomes Trophonius in the *Telegony*. The change is typical of the mixed culture of Cyrene, part Hellenic, part Libyan, and influenced by Egypt. Since the *floruit* of Eugamon is given by Eusebius as Olympiad 53.3 (566 B.C.), the poet probably was active under king Arcesilaus II, and the Arcesilaus of the *Telegony* was perhaps named after him; possibly Eugamon was his court poet.

Clement of Alexandria remarked that early Greek epic poets were notorious for their thefts. He cited as an example of plagiarism Eugamon's passing off the whole book of Musaeus on the Thesprotians as his own.<sup>7</sup> It is true that part of the *Telegony* is set in Thesprotia, but that does not prove Eugamon to have stolen from Musaeus or anyone else. Rhapsodes had no sense of copyright and were at liberty to borrow each others' stories. Clement or his source probably saw that the *Thesprotis* and part of the *Telegony* had a great deal in common; but it cannot be proved that Eugamon took over the entire *Thesprotis* into his *Telegony*.

The *Telegony* has recently been studied with great penetration

<sup>4</sup>Homerische Untersuchungen (Berlin 1884) 183.

<sup>5</sup>RE 21.2 (1952) 1854.

<sup>6</sup>FGH Hist 103 F 5. Cf. Hdt. 2.121; Wilamowitz, *op.cit.* 186; D. B. Munro, *JHS* 5 (1884) 41; E. Schwartz, *Die Odyssee* (Munich 1924) 149 n. 1.

<sup>7</sup>Clem. Al. Strom. 6.2.25.1. Homer 5 (*ed.* T. W. Allen) 143.

by Merkelbach.<sup>8</sup> He has compared the prophecy of Tiresias made in the *Nekyomanteia*<sup>9</sup> with events in the *Telegony*. As may be expected in a poem designed to continue the *Odyssey*, the plot of the *Telegony* accords well with the prophecy of the Theban seer. "After you kill the suitors in your halls," says he, "either by stealth or with the sharp bronze, then next set out taking a well-smoothed oar, until you come to the people who know not the sea and eat no food mixed with salt . . . I shall tell you a very obvious sign which shall not escape you: when another traveller meets you and says that you have a winnowing fan on your sturdy shoulder, then fix the oar in the ground and make good sacrifice to lord Poseidon, a ram, a bull, and a breeding boar. Then go back home and sacrifice holy hecatombs to the immortal gods, who dwell in the broad heaven: to each of them in turn. And a painless death shall come to you from the sea" [or possibly "far from the sea" — the word was taken both ways in antiquity] "that shall take you off in gentle old age. The people around you shall be prosperous; it is the unerring truth that I tell." In the *Telegony* Odysseus sets out on his wanderings again and he is killed by Telegonus, who comes from the sea. In the Apollodorean *Epitome*<sup>10</sup> details missing in Proclus are given: Telegonus coming to Ithaca drove away some of the cattle; and when Odysseus defended them, Telegonus wounded him with a spear barbed with the spine of a sting ray. Odysseus then died of the wound. Here the sting ray is the death that came from the sea — an ingenious device to explain the words of Tiresias. We cannot know whether it was an invention of Eugamon himself; Sophocles, who may have drawn on Eugamon, told the story in his *Odysseus Acanthoplex*.<sup>11</sup>

Merkelbach considered that the order to Odysseus to go inland was fulfilled in the *Telegony* in Epirus. Tradition, it is true, placed at Bouneima the inland people visited by Odysseus with the oar, or sent him to Trampya amongst the Eurytanes of the Pindus range.<sup>12</sup> Odysseus was thus made to go as far inland as possible

<sup>8</sup>R. Merkelbach, *Untersuchungen zur Odyssee*, Zetemata 2 (Munich 1951) 142-155.

<sup>9</sup>*Od.* 11.119-137.

<sup>10</sup>7.36 (p. 302 ed. J. G. Frazer).

<sup>11</sup>A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* 2 (Cambridge 1917) 105-114.

<sup>12</sup>Steph. Byz. s.v. Βούνειμα. Schol. Lyc. Alex. 800. Wilamowitz, *op.cit.* 189 n. 30.

in northern Greece to obey the orders of Tiresias. However, in the summary of Proclus, Odysseus carries out in *Ithaca* the sacrifices bidden by Tiresias. Merkelbach<sup>13</sup> therefore emended the text of Proclus: instead of ἔπειτα εἰς Ἰθάκην καταπλεύσας τὰς ὑπὸ Τειρεσίου ῥηθείσας τελεῖ θυσίας, he proposed to read ἔπειτα εἰς Ἥπειρον. The change is ingenious, but the rough handling of the evidence unnecessary. In his prophecy Tiresias orders Odysseus to go to the people who eat no salt with their food, and to sacrifice to Poseidon there; then he is to return home and to sacrifice to all the immortal gods in turn. The words of Proclus τὰς ὑπὸ Τειρεσίου ῥηθείσας τελεῖ θυσίας therefore apply to the group of sacrifices to be performed in Ithaca on the return of Odysseus from the land of the saltless people.

It follows that in the *Telegony* the sacrifices to Poseidon were made before Odysseus returned from Polyxenus in Elis to Ithaca. Proclus does not mention them, but it can be shown that in the *Telegony* Odysseus did indeed sacrifice far from the sea before he left Elis for Ithaca. The Arcadians were well known for their ignorance of maritime matters: accordingly Eugamon was able to send Odysseus to sacrifice to Poseidon in Arcadia. To confirm that he did so, the coins of Mantinea include types depicting Odysseus bearing an oar on his shoulder;<sup>14</sup> there, then, in central Peloponnese, according to one interpretation of the prophecy of Tiresias, Odysseus sacrificed to Poseidon far from the sea. To conclude the reasoning thus far: Odysseus sacrificed to Poseidon far inland before he returned to make other sacrifices in Ithaca. Before he came back to Ithaca in the *Telegony*, he was in Peloponnese, and the representation of Odysseus with an oar on the coins of Mantinea shows that in the *Telegony* the hero went to Arcadia to sacrifice to Poseidon far inland. Then he went back to Ithaca, after seeing Polyxenus in Elis, and sacrificed to all the immortals. Proclus mentioned only the sacrifices in Ithaca.

The story of Trophonius and the treasury in the *Telegony* is only a digression, but it deserves passing notice. When Eugamon described the gift of Polyxenus to Odysseus, he may have had in mind a

<sup>13</sup>*Op.cit.* (*supra* n. 8) 147.

<sup>14</sup>J. Svoronos, "Ulysse chez les Arcadiens et la Télégonie d'Eugammon," *Gazette archéologique* 13 (1888) 269. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1911) 450.



Laconian crater, for the pottery of Sparta was very popular at Cyrene and the Arcesilaus vase, made in the lifetime of Eugamon, shows that the Laconian potters and painters were interested in Cyrenean subjects. Amongst the Laconian material found in Samos is a fragment showing a man holding what appears to be the capstone of a building. Bochlau<sup>15</sup> reasonably identified the man as Trophonius erecting a tholos and his interpretation was accepted by Lane.<sup>16</sup> Certainly the circle held by the man is too large for a discus — even Heracles would have difficulty in throwing that. Eugamon, we may suggest, described a vase with the story of Trophonius drawn upon it and so prompted some Laconian painter to make a real vase showing the architect and his tholos.

We come now to the link between the *Odyssey* and the *Telephony*. Eugamon based the plot of his poem on the prophecy of Tiresias; but when he fitted the *Telephony* to the already existing *Odyssey*, had the twenty fourth book, which many competent critics, ancient and modern, consider later than the rest of the poem, already been added? Or did the version of the *Odyssey* to which Eugamon adapted his epic, end at about 23.296? That is where Aristophanes and Aristarchus set the true end of the *Odyssey*.<sup>17</sup> The arguments tending to prove that Book 24, the *Continuation*, is later than the rest of the *Odyssey*, and that its author flagrantly abused the language of traditional epic, have been stated with clarity and vigour by D. L. Page<sup>18</sup> and do not need to be rehearsed here. It would be valuable to know whether the rhapsodic *Continuation* was already part of the *Odyssey* known to Eugamon in the sixth century B.C.: I propose that the Cyrenean used an *Odyssey* lacking the *Continuation*.

It has been suggested that the *Continuation* from 23.396 onwards was designed to link the *Odyssey* to the beginning of Eugamon's poem.<sup>19</sup> There is, however, a difficulty in that solution: for the first statement made by Proclus about the *Telephony* is that the

<sup>15</sup>J. Bochlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* (Leipzig 1899) 128 and Pl. 10.4.

<sup>16</sup>E. A. Lane, "Laconian Vase Painting," *ABSA* 34 [1933-34] (1936) 165-166: "Trophonius erecting a Tholos."

<sup>17</sup>D. L. Page, *The Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford 1955) 101.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.* 101-111.

<sup>19</sup>Schwartz, *op.cit.* 148ff. Page, *op.cit.* 129 with n. 33.

suitors are buried by their kinsfolk. If the *Continuation* were a link between the two poems, then the suitors would have been buried twice — once in the *Continuation* and once at the beginning of the *Telegony*. For in fact the suitors are buried in the *Continuation* (24.417):

ἐκ δὲ νέκυσ οἴκων φόρεον καὶ θάπτον ἕκαστοι.

Therefore the *Continuation* overlaps the beginning of the *Telegony*, and the conclusion follows that the *Continuation* is not a link between the *Odyssey* and the *Telegony*. It is most probable therefore that Eugamon took up the story at about 23.296. Indeed the *Telegony* does begin where the *Odyssey* proper ends: the suitors, who by 23.296 are still unburied, are interred by their kinsfolk at the very beginning of Eugamon's poem. It seems then that there were texts of the *Odyssey* current in the mid-sixth century which lacked the *Continuation* and that Eugamon used one of them; the great Alexandrian critics may well have had diplomatic support for their rejection from the canon of Homer all that followed 23.296, and the reader who senses that the inept rhapsodising of Book 24 is unworthy of Homer's *Odyssey* can only applaud their judgement.

Eugamon, in short, is interesting for a number of reasons: he linked Mantinea with the journey of Odysseus to appease Poseidon; to please the Cyrenean royalty he made Arcesilaus a son of Odysseus; and he almost certainly began his *Telegony* at the place where Aristophanes and Aristarchus thought the true end of the *Odyssey* to be. An obscure figure he will always be; but because the plot of the *Telegony* bears upon the state of the *Odyssey* in the sixth century B.C., there is reason enough to study that Cyrenean poet.

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## III

## A Poem of the Homeridae

IN THE PHAEDRUS (252 B) Plato stated that the Homeridae recited from their private poems two lines to Eros. The second he thought outrageous and not quite metrical.

λέγουσι δὲ οἶμαί τινες Ὀμηριδῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποθέτων ἐπῶν  
 δύο ἔπη εἰς τὸν Ἑρωτα, ὧν τὸ ἕτερον ὑβριστικὸν πάνν  
 καὶ οὐ σφόδρα τι ἔμμετρον ὑμνοῦσι δὲ ᾧδε —

τὸν δ' ἦτοι θνητοὶ μὲν Ἑρωτα καλοῦσι ποτηνόν

ἀθάνατοι δὲ Πτέρωτα, διὰ πετεροφύτορ' ἀνάγκην.

[*Phdr.* 252 B 4–9, *ed.* Burnet]

οἶμαί T: οἱ μὲν B. ὑβριστικὸν πάνν B: πάνν ὑβριστικὸν

T Stobaeus. δ' ἦτοι T: δῆ τοι B Stobaeus. πετεροφύτορ'

Stobaeus, πετερόφυτον B: πετερόφοιτον T.

Wilamowitz held that Plato was joking,<sup>1</sup> Wade-Gery that he was parodying.<sup>2</sup> The second line is surprising, for the correction is without parallel: Plato at once noticed the metrical irregularity. Allen<sup>3</sup> simply wrote "the correction of δε πτ- is intended," but that was to dismiss the anomaly without explaining it. To any Athenian ear the line would have sounded wrong, and not just odd.

For δέ to be short, πτ- must be pronounced as a single consonant. The dialect of Greek in which that is possible is Aeolic. In Thessaly πτ could become ττ, as in *ττολίαρχοι*,<sup>4</sup> and *ἀρχιττολιαρχέντος*.<sup>5</sup> It is not clear whether ττ was pronounced as a diphthong or not, but Thessalian also shows a development from πτ to ττ and thence to τ. The single τ can be seen in *Τολεμαῖος*,<sup>6</sup> which derives from *Πτολεμαῖος*. Here the initial would not be pronounced as a diphthong. Similarly the word *Πτέρωτα* could be written in Aeolic *Τέρωτα*, and pronounced so as not to make position. δέ thus could remain short for an Aeolic speaker, but to Plato's ear there naturally seemed to be an irregularity.

<sup>1</sup>*Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916) 366 n. 4.

<sup>2</sup>*The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge 1952) 71 n. 50.

<sup>3</sup>*Homer: The Origins and the Transmission* (Oxford 1924) 44.

<sup>4</sup>C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*<sup>3</sup> (Chicago 1955) 61 para. 67.

<sup>5</sup>Buck, *op.cit.* 73 para. 86.2

<sup>6</sup>O. Hoffmann, *Die Griechischen Dialekte* (Göttingen 1893) 2.507; 518.

The unique *πτεροφύτορ*<sup>7</sup> can be retained, for the word is a compound of *φύω*; the *υ* of *φνω* can be scanned long or short, being generally short before a vowel and long before a consonant. The unmetrical *πτερόφυτον* is probably a corruption of *πτεροφύτορ*<sup>7</sup>, and the origin of *πτερόφοιτον*. If the *πτ-* of *πτεροφύτορ*<sup>7</sup> was subject to the same treatment as in *πτέρωτα*, then *διὰ* must be scanned *διὰ* with long *alpha*. The scansion *διὰ*, with *alpha* long, is common in Homer.

The private verses quoted by Plato were therefore originally recited by the Homeridae in Aeolic. In Chios where the Homeridae lived there was a strong Aeolic element in the population. Bolissos in the north of the island is even called an Aeolian city by Stephen of Byzantium;<sup>7</sup> the notice comes from Ephorus, who connected Homer with Bolissos.<sup>8</sup> The Homeridae may have lived there, for the Aeolism of their private verses quoted by Plato suggests that they were influenced by the Aeolic speech of the island. Plato, then, was not joking, nor was he parodying; in the *Phaedrus* he gave a version of an Aeolic couplet from the *apotheta* of the Homeridae of Chios.

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<sup>7</sup>*s.v.* Βολισσός.

<sup>8</sup>*FGrHist* 70 F 103. [Ps.Hdt.] *Vit.Hom.* 21-24.



# Was Antigone Murdered?

William M. Calder III

ANTIGONE is regularly assumed to have been a suicide. The crucial passage is Sophocles, *Antigone*, verses 1219-1230. Fortunately there are no textual difficulties; the problems are those of interpretation. The Greek text of A. C. Pearson<sup>1</sup> reads:

- τάδ' ἐξ ἀθύμου δεσπότης κελευσμάτων  
1220 ἡθροῦμεν· ἐν δὲ λοισθίῳ τυμβεύματι  
τὴν μὲν κρεμαστὴν αὐχένος κατείδομεν,  
βρόχῳ μιτῶδει σινδόνης καθημμένην,  
τὸν δ' ἀμφὶ μέσση περιπετὴ προσκείμενον,  
εὐνῆς ἀποιμῶζοντα τῆς κάτω φθορὰν  
1225 καὶ πατὴρ ἔργα καὶ τὸ δύστηνον λέχος.  
ὁ δ' ὡς ὁρᾷ σφε, στυγνὸν οἰμῶξας ἔσω  
χωρεῖ πρὸς αὐτὸν κἀνακωκύσας καλεῖ·  
ὦ τλήμον, οἷον ἔργον εἴργασαι· τίνα  
νοῦν ἔσχες; ἐν τῷ συμφορᾶς διεφθάρης;  
1230 ἔξελθε, τέκνον, ἰκέσιός σε λίσσομαι.

Difficulties arise here and often elsewhere in Sophocles simply because the text is rarely *literally* translated. Rather it is paraphrased even by the most accurate critics. I should render the Greek text of A. C. Pearson literally as follows:

"Therefore at the commands from a disheartened master *we proceeded to*<sup>2</sup> look; and in *the innermost part of the tomb*<sup>3</sup> on

<sup>1</sup>A. C. Pearson, *Sophoclis Fabulae* (Oxford 1924). The following editions are of particular importance and will henceforth be referred to by name of editor alone: Lewis Campbell, *Sophocles edited with English Notes and Introductions* 12 (Oxford 1879); M. L. D'Ooge, *Sophocles, Antigone* (Boston 1884); R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles the Plays and Fragments: Part III, The Antigone*<sup>2</sup> (Cambridge 1891); F. C. Wex, *Sophoclis Antigona* II (Leipzig 1831). In the latter volume will be found conveniently collected the views of earlier commentators, e.g., Hermann and Musgrave.

<sup>2</sup>This is the translation of H. Weir Smyth written in his interleaved copy of D'Ooge preserved in Widener Library. The Widener number is Gs 31. 419. 03.

<sup>3</sup>So D'Ooge *ad loc.*

the one hand we saw her hanged from her neck, having been made fast with a threaded noose of linen, and on the other hand him lying falling round about her middle, *bewailing loudly*<sup>4</sup> destruction of a bride, the one below, and a father's deeds and the wretched marriage-bed. But he, as he sees them, having wailed a gloomy wail, goes within to him and having *wailed aloud*<sup>5</sup> he calls: 'O miserable, what a deed you have done; what mind did you take on? *At what point of calamity did you go mad?*'<sup>6</sup> Come out, child; supplicating, I beg you.'"

For τὰδ' I follow Hermann,<sup>7</sup> in an interpretation approved by Ellendt-Genthe.<sup>8</sup> The pronoun is retrospective and looks back to the words (especially verses 1217-1218) just spoken by Creon. Ellendt-Genthe catch the nuance with "Circumspiciebant igitur ministri, num recte audivisset ille." The scholiast rightly glosses ἡθροῦμεν with ἐθεωροῦμεν. G. Dindorf's *explorabamus* is a better translation than Ellendt-Genthe's *vidimus*, which destroys the studied contrast of tenses in the two finite verbs. The scholiast further suggests that *the threaded noose of linen* was the girl's ζώνη, a view endorsed by Campbell, while D'Ooge thinks it her *veil*; but the whole approach is documentary in Waldock's sense<sup>9</sup> and so to be avoided. εὐνῆς (1224) and λέχος (1225) seemed synonymous to Dindorf, who therefore thought the verse otiose and an interpolation; but there is a distinction. By metonymy εὐνῆς is the bride, as Musgrave saw (*coniugis iam apud inferos agentis*), and λέχος the marriage. So Jebb saw, who translates "bewailing the loss of his bride who is with the dead, and his father's deeds, and his own ill-starred love." This way there is a logical and rhetorical denouement. Haimon recalls first his dead bride, then the evils of his father, and finally his own condition.

At verse 1226 I have proposed a new translation by taking σφε to be plural. In the tragedians the pronoun often means *eos, eas*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> So Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford 1940) *s.v.* ἀποιμῶζω.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, *s.v.* ἀνακκύω.

<sup>6</sup> So Campbell, p. 556.

<sup>7</sup> See Wex, *ad loc.*, p. 277.

<sup>8</sup> Fr. Ellendt and H. Genthe, *Lexicon Sophocleum*<sup>2</sup> (Berlin 1872) *s.v.* κέλυσμα.

<sup>9</sup> See A. J. A. Waldock, *Sophocles the Dramatist* (Cambridge 1951) 11-24.

<sup>10</sup> See Raphael Kühner and Fr. Blass, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* 13 (Hannover 1890) 593.

This way the pronoun becomes neatly resumptive, including τὴν of verse 1221 and τὸν of verse 1223. The result of the new translation is that the motivation for Kreon's outburst on entering the tomb becomes the sight of Haimon *and* Antigone. The importance of such a motivation will be soon evident.

The crux in the passage is ἔργον of verse 1228. What is the *deed* to which Kreon refers? Commentators regularly ignore the problem and only Jebb on verses 1228 f. interpreted: "*i. e.*, Haemon's forcible entrance into Antigone's tomb." For some seventy years this view was not challenged. Then in a passage of remarkable insight Professor S. M. Adams<sup>11</sup> suggested that the word refers to the *hanging*. He made the simple and cogent observation that if Jebb is right the words (p. 57): "are mad enough, since Creon intended to do precisely that and should have welcomed this anticipation." This view is clearly correct and it is only a wonder that it had not earlier been brought forward. Otherwise there is no motivation for τλῆμον and διεφθάρης. The verb indicates that Kreon fears the boy deranged.<sup>12</sup> This is plausible if he believes that Haimon has murdered his betrothed, but is nonsense otherwise. The urgency of verse 1230, together with the affectionate τέκνον replacing Kreon's usual παῖ, support this view. In short, we can believe only that *Kreon considers Haimon to have murdered Antigone*.

Was Kreon mistaken? Professor Adams thinks he was; that it was this infamous accusation that enraged Haimon to attempt parricide and then, in despair at failure, to take his own life. Adams' view is an opinion, albeit an intelligent one; for he provides no evidence. It is difficult to find any, but in defence of his view I note two points. At verse 763 Haimon asserts that Antigone shall never perish by his side; but he is distraught, referring to the immediate threat of Kreon, and might easily later have reconsidered. Just so Kreon (760-761) will have Antigone done away on stage but at

<sup>11</sup>S. M. Adams, *Sophocles the Playwright* (Toronto 1957) 57-58 with n. 7. I approved this interpretation at CP 54 (1954) 70, but did not explore the consequences.

<sup>12</sup>See Campbell and Jebb *ad loc.* who are elaborating the view of J. W. Donaldson (London 1848) *ad loc.*

verses 773 ff. reconsiders. Further, as D'Ooge cleverly observed,<sup>13</sup> when the servants enter the cave, Antigone has been cut down.<sup>14</sup> Haimon is lying over her (1223.) After his suicide, corpse lies on corpse (1240). It is difficult to imagine why the young man would cut down his victim. Perhaps there was a change of heart or else he wished to die close to her. The dramatist did not choose to tell us and we should not pry. Obviously Kreon was not disturbed by this circumstance and perhaps we ought not to be.

In defence of the veracity of Kreon's opinion we may remark that his words are the last reference to the circumstances of Antigone's death. They are never contradicted by the Messenger or by any other character in the play. It would seem careless, if not naive, for Sophocles to present an error in a messenger-speech and never to correct it for his audience. Notice also that at verse 750 Kreon tells Haimon that he shall not marry Antigone while she still lives. Jebb renders Haimon's reply: "Then she must die and in death destroy another." These words are by no means incompatible with a murder. Finally Hyginus in Fable 72 abstracts a dramatic treatment of the story of Antigone. His version is not the Sophoclean play. The fabulist's source is either Euripides' or Astydamos' *Antigone*.<sup>15</sup> Hyginus writes (p. 56. 13 Rose): "Haemon se et Antigone coniugem interfecit." The killing of women by hanging is of course paralleled at *Odyssey* 22. 465 ff.

Sophocles' ambiguity concerning his heroine's death is apparent from the text. We can only surmise his motive. Perhaps in the received version (reflected in Hyginus?) Antigone was

<sup>13</sup>D'Ooge, p. 146 on 1223: "From 1237-1240 it is evident that Antigone's body lay prostrate on the ground. The attendants could not have seen Antigone suspended, but they inferred that this was the manner of her death from the noose that was still around her neck. It is also inferred that the first thing that Haemon did was to unfasten the noose from the ceiling, that he might save Antigone, if possible, from death." Notice that the first inference is made by the attendants; the second by the modern critic and contains the documentary fallacy.

<sup>14</sup>Obviously if Antigone lies on the floor *κρεμαστήν* means *dead from hanging* and *καθημένην* *tied*.

<sup>15</sup>For the Euripidean attribution see e.g., Schmid-Stählin, I. 2. 358 n. 5 (after Welcker). James H. Paton in *HSCP* 12 (1901) 269-276 provides sensible reasons to doubt a Euripidean source and supports (after George Müller) Astydamos. The dogmatic treatment of the Hyginian fable by Carl Robert, *Oidipus* I (Berlin 1915) 381-2 is not useful. We can only safely say that Hyginus is evidence for a tradition, probably dramatic, of murder by Haimon.



put to death by Haimon. Sophocles did not consider such a murder to be compatible with his characterization of the heroine. A noble heroine ought better like Ajax or Deianeira to take her own life. The dramatist chose therefore to *imply* a suicide but carefully used ambiguous language that never *literally* contradicted a murder. For just such slyness elsewhere in Sophocles compare the Neoptolemus who never *literally* lies although it is implied to almost any spectator that he does.<sup>16</sup>

I hold therefore that the Sophoclean text nowhere explicitly contradicts the view that Haimon murdered Antigone, while in order to consider Antigone a suicide a spectator must contradict the words of one who reportedly was at the scene. A murder also has the advantage of reconciling the Sophoclean account with that of the drama abstracted in Hyginus.

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<sup>16</sup>This has been noted by Adams, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 11) 140 with n. 1.

# The *Satiricon* and the Christian Oral Tradition<sup>1</sup>

J. Allen Cabaniss

SEVERAL YEARS AGO I offered a tentative suggestion that some "minor, but nonetheless tantalizing, resemblances between the famous Milesian tale of the matron of Ephesus" in the *Satiricon* and the Biblical account of Christ's burial were the result of cynical and garbled use by Petronius of an oral version of the new Christian gospel which he may have heard, perhaps in Bithynia.<sup>2</sup> So modest was my proposal that I supposed there were no other resemblances. I now believe, however, that at several other points the oral version of the Christian tradition impinges upon Petronius's picaresque romance.

There are a few details of his life<sup>3</sup> to which I wish first to direct attention, since they apparently lend credence to the possibility and even probability of this influence. In A.D. 39, when Petronius was only nineteen or twenty years old, he accompanied his uncle, Publius, when that kinsman became governor of the province of Syria. For a while he may have enjoyed the life of Antioch-on-the-Orontes as well as a visit to Egypt.

It is well then to remember that he was in Palestine at the very time when the new religious movement was creating its initial stir in legal trials and persecutions. It was indeed in Antioch about this

<sup>1</sup>This paper was presented at the Third International Congress on Patristic Studies Christ Church, Oxford, 21-25 September 1959.

<sup>2</sup>Allen Cabaniss, "A Footnote to the 'Petronian Question'," *CP* 49 (1954) 98-102.

<sup>3</sup>Gilbert Bagnani, *Arbiter of Elegance: A Study of the Life & Works of C. Petronius* (*The Phoenix*, Suppl. vol. II [Toronto 1954]). Despite his intemperate language, I believe that Bagnani has made his case that the *Satiricon* was written by Petronius between A.D. 58 and 65. Referring to my remarks in *CP* (*supra* n. 2), Bagnani states ambiguously (*op.cit.* 64, n. 71): "If these similarities are anything more than coincidences — which seems to me doubtful — Petronius may possibly have heard some vague accounts of the Crucifixion while in Bithynia." Bagnani's sentence does not lend itself to precise grammatical analysis and I cannot decide whether he agrees with me or not.

very time that "Christians" first received that appellation (Acts 11:26). And St. Paul had visited there about 38.<sup>4</sup> The governor, Publius Petronius, was indeed indirectly involved in these affairs. It was he whom Caligula ordered to install the imperial image in the Temple at Jerusalem and it was in the summer of 40 that he advanced to obey the order. This particular effort caused such dismay among both Jews and Christians that its effect can still be read in the pages of the New Testament (cf. Mark 13:14). Because Publius Petronius realized its folly he delayed and tried to dissuade the emperor. The latter, infuriated at such an attitude, decreed the governor's suicide, but the execution was not accomplished, for Caligula himself was assassinated on 24 January 41.<sup>5</sup>

If within the years 40-42 the young Petronius traveled anywhere in the eastern Mediterranean area he would have inevitably seen and heard about the new movement. And when he did become governor of Bithynia in 55-56, he was in an area where the Christian mission was unusually successful.<sup>6</sup> It was probably while he was in Bithynia, about 56, that St. Paul was enduring his Caesarean imprisonment under the governor Felix. What is of interest is the apparent association of Felix's wife Drusilla in the government (Acts 24:24). Her name would have a familiar ring to Petronius because it was the same as that of Emperor Caligula's sister, whose deification-proceedings he had attended and ridiculed somewhat earlier.<sup>7</sup> All in all there is every reason to surmise that Petronius did in fact have ample opportunity to gain some knowledge of the Christian gospel while it was in its pre-literary stage. It is a fact that his name or that of a member of his family (his uncle Publius? another?) was remembered by Christians and entered the Christian tradition. For according to the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (about 150) 8.31,<sup>8</sup> the centurion guarding Christ's sepulcher bears the name of Petronius.

I shall not again treat the story of the matron of Ephesus, nor the mention by both St. Paul and Petronius of a woman named

<sup>4</sup>Philip Carrington, *The Early Christian Church, I: The First Christian Century* (Cambridge 1957) 67.

<sup>5</sup>*ibid.* 72.

<sup>6</sup>*ibid.* 130, 439f.

<sup>7</sup>Bagnani, *op.cit.* 48.

<sup>8</sup>M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford 1950) 90.

Tryphaena,<sup>9</sup> but, contrary to my former statement, I now assert that the remark in *Satiricon* 74, "haec dicente eo gallus gallicinaceus cantavit," is significant in view of the identical sentiment and a number of similar words in Luke 22:60: καὶ παραχρήμα ἔτι λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐφώνησεν ἀλέκτωρ.

There are six other places where Biblical allusions spring immediately to mind. First, there is the statement near the end of *Satiricon* 63, that witches (mulieres plussciae . . . nocturnae) exist who "turn downward what is upward" (quod sursum est, deorsum faciunt). Similarly at Thessalonica the early Christians (who were also people of the nighttime<sup>10</sup>) were said (Acts 17:6), about 49 or 50, to be those who "upset the world" (οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες).

Secondly, near the beginning of *Satiricon* 75, Habinnas reminds Trimalchio that "we are men, not gods" (homines sumus, non dei). So about 46-49 St. Paul at Lystra had to defend himself against divine worship as an apparition of Hermes by crying out (Acts 14:15), "We are indeed men like you" (καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἐσμεν ὑμῖν ἄνθρωποι).

Third, toward the beginning of *Satiricon* 78 occurs the remark by Trimalchio of his graveclothes, "See to it, Stichus, that neither mice nor moths touch them" (Vide tu . . . , Stiche, ne ista mures tangant aut tineae). Surely this is an echo of the original which lies beneath Matt. 6:20, "but lay up treasures for yourselves in heaven where neither moth nor rust destroys" (θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ ὅπου οὔτε σὴς οὔτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει).

Fourth, in the middle of *Satiricon* 105, it was decided that to appease the guardian-deity of the ship "forty stripes be inflicted on each one" (placuit quadragenas utrique plagas imponi). Perhaps of no great significance, but nonetheless, the Apostle records (II Cor. 11:24) that five times he received from the Jews stripes to the number of "forty less one" (τεσσεράκοντα παρὰ μίαν).

Fifth, the first line of a metrical passage in *Satiricon* 109 states: "Fallen are the hairs — that which alone is the glory of the body" (Quod solum formae decus est, cecidere capilli). In like manner

<sup>9</sup>Cabaniss, *op.cit.*

<sup>10</sup>Cabaniss, "Early Christian Nighttime Worship," *Journal of Bible and Religion* 25 (1957) 30-33.



St. Paul believes (I Cor. 11:15) that for a woman her hair "is her glory" (δόξα αὐτῇ ἐστίν). There is here also a faint reminiscence of the Lord's declaration (Matt. 10:30), "Even the hairs of your head are all numbered" (ὅμων δὲ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς κεφαλῆς πᾶσαι ἡριθμημέναι εἰσίν).

Sixth, midway through *Satiricon* 131 an old woman performs a spell thus: "she soon took up on her middle finger dust mixed with spittle and signed the forehead" (mox turbatum sputo pulverem medio sustulit digito frontemque . . . signavit) of a man who protested all the while. So when Christ healed the blind man at the pool of Siloam (John 9:6), "He spat upon the ground and made clay out of the spittle, and put the clay upon his eyes" (ἐπτυσεν χαμαὶ καὶ ἐποίησεν πηλὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτύσματος καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῦ τὸν πηλὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. This, of course, is a folk-pattern that can be frequently discovered.

In addition to these six points we may also add a certain cynical commendation of celibacy (qui vero nec uxores unquam duxerunt . . . ad summos honores perveniunt, id est soli militares, soli fortissimi atque etiam innocentes habentur [*Sat.* 116, *ad fin.*], which agrees in part with some tendencies in primitive Christianity. And we should perhaps also add the account of the shipwreck (*Sat.* 113-115) which in many ways parallels the account of St. Paul's adventures in Acts 27.

Let us admit that each of these points singly is not very impressive, but the cumulative effect is quite strong. To me it seems quite apparent that Petronius had heard some oral accounts of the Christian message and mission and that he employed many words, phrases, and situations from it to give a certain piquant flavor to his romance.

# New Fragments of Scholia on Sophocles' *Ajax*

*Morton Smith*

THE MONASTERY OF MAR SABA, a few miles southeast of Jerusalem, has a number of late Greek manuscripts, fragments of older manuscripts, and printed books containing considerable manuscript material. A catalogue of seventy-six of these items, by the present author, has been submitted for publication to *Nea Sion*, the periodical of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Among the items catalogued is one (No. 21) which may be of interest to classical scholars. This is a copy of the book *Εὐχαὶ τοῦ λυχνικοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὄρθρου*, ed. Venice, 1746, in which are pasted to the inside of the front and back covers two pages from a fifteenth century paper manuscript of the *Ajax* of Sophocles, 188 x 123 mm., with marginal scholia and interlinear glosses (see Plates 3 and 4).

The text and scholia are in dark brown ink in a good book hand, rather square, the hand of a practiced writer writing carefully but rapidly. Many ligatures and abbreviations are used in the scholia and even more in the interlinear glosses, which are in a pale yellow ink, as are the headings indicating the speakers. In the glosses the hand is slightly hastier, not so square, more fluent than in the text and scholia. In the text, a few letters omitted in first writing have been added above the lines, the places for the addition being indicated by sublinear carets. These corrections were made by the original hand before the writing of the glosses, which avoid them.

At present only the verso of the first page and the recto of the second can be read, though enough can be seen where the paper is loose to prove that text, glosses, and scholia continued on the sides now pasted down. *Folio 1 verso* (Plate 3) contains lines 32 through 44; *2 recto* (plate 4), lines 45 through 56. In line 32 the text reads

το τε ποταμου  
κατα του δε ιου  
και ουτε πα  
τοις ταυσι παρ  
αρος τοιεν  
απορον:

ἡ πόλις αὐτῆς· ἡ πόλις αὐτῆς.

ἡνὶ δὲ αἰετὶ πληγῆται· καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος

καὶ ῥ' ὁ <sup>3</sup>φύκης πλὴν πᾶσι ῥ' πᾶσι τοῖς <sup>9</sup>ἄλλοις

πατὴς ἀγαθῆς καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπου

ὁ Ἰωάννης οὐκ ἔλεγε, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μαθηταὶ, ὅτι ὁ Χριστὸς ἦν ὁ υἱός τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

τῆς αὐτοῦ προθυμίας ὡς ἰδὸν κενησίαν

ἡ καὶ φιλῶν δάσιν αὐτὰς πρὸς καὶ ῥ' ἰπὸν ὧ

ὡς ἄνθρωπος τοῦ δεξιᾶς παλάμης,

καὶ πρὸς τὸ δὲ λόγιον ὡς ἐξαχθῆναι.

το ἄνω βαρύνει τὴν ἄνω πλάκην  
ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ποιμνίων τὴν δὲ ἐπαμύνηται αὐτοῖς

δοκῶν ἐν ὑμῖν ἡ ἀρετὴ ναδ<sup>αι</sup> φόνω

ἡ καὶ τοῦ βούλου μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ῥαββίσι τοῦ δ' ἄν

ἀντίψιχα ἡ σκύνος δολόησον ἐν τῇ ἀντιπύρ  
 ρωσῇ παρὰ τὴν θανάπτειαν.

[illegible][illegible]

17. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 85

*(Faint handwritten Greek text)*



ἀίσσω for ἄσσω; in 33, ὅτου with L; in 45, ἐξέπραξεν with A against L, its only significant variation from the text of Jebb. The last word of line 52 has been obliterated and there are a few minor mistakes, mostly iotacisms and omissions of final *nu*. *Iota* subscript is written only once (in ἡῖξε, line 40). The interlinear glosses add explanatory words, or give more familiar (but mostly classical) equivalents for the words in the text.

The scholia are written beside lines 32, 37, 39, 41, 50, 52, and 55. Those beside 50 and 52 are introduced by capital *epsilons* (in that beside 50 this letter serves as the first letter of the scholion, in that beside 52 it does not). The beginnings of the lines of the other scholia have been lost. Since some of the scholia are among those printed in the edition of Brunck (*Scholia graeca in Sophoclem*, ed. altera, Oxford, 1810), mostly among the Byzantine scholia which he prints as footnotes to his pages, it can be seen that about six letters have been lost from the beginnings of the lines of the scholia on 1 *verso*, and a like number from the ends of the lines of 2 *recto*. The scholia read as follows:

*Beside line 32* = Brunck, page 4, footnote on 33, from τῶν αἰτιατικῶν to end, + Brunck, page 5, footnote on 40, πρὸς ποῖον σκοπὸν ἀφορῶν. The MS has replaced the -ικῶν of αἰτιατικῶν by what seems to be λῶ, reads οὐ δὲ for the first οὔτε, and Ἰατρικῶς for Ἀτρικοῖς. Between the two passages paralleled from Brunck it has the words καὶ πρ . . . . ν.

*Beside line 37* = Brunck, page 5, footnote on 40, from δηλονότι πρὸς ποῖον σκοπὸν to end. The MS adds καὶ after δηλονότι, has an *iota* (or a blot?) between πρὸς and ποῖον, omits ἀντί before ἐπιρρήματος, and probably again before τοῦ, and omits ἦλθεν after ταχύς.

*Beside line 39:* ]'νω ἔβαρυν  
                   ]ῆ γὰρ σκότω-  
                   ]κάρων ὥς ὁ

*Beside line 41:* Lines 1–6 = Brunck, page 5, footnote on 42, from βάσιν ἐποιήσατο to end. The MS reads κατὰ for the first καί, θέλω for θέλων, ἐμπίπτειν for ἐμπίπτει, φόνων for φόνον,

and for κυκλοῦντα βάσιν has ... λούντευβα .. Hereupon follows: ] . ἔνεκεν ἐρχόμενος

] ᾗ τῆς ποιμνίας

] . εἰ γάρ φαμεν τὸ

] . ἐμπίπτει ὁ ἄνθρωπος

] . μίοις τὸ δὲ ἐ

] . ὁ ἄνθρωπος βάσιν.

This fragment seems to be related to the scholion of 'Demetrius Triclinius' on line 42, printed in Brunck, page 334, but the parallelism is not close. In the MS it is followed immediately by the last lines of the scholion already written above, beside line 37, from ᾗ ξεν to the end. This time the MS varies from Brunck by reading ᾗ instead of καί before ἐκίνησεν, omitting οὕτω χεῖρα, omitting δέ after ἔστι and ἀντὶ τοῦ after ἐπιρρήματος, adding καί after ἐπιρρήματος, and omitting τοῦ before ταχέως.

Beside line 50 = Brunck, page 5, footnote on 50, from ἐπέχω to end. No variants from Brunck.

Beside line 52 = Brunck, page 6, footnote on 51, from εὐφορον to end. The MS reads δύσφορον instead of δύσκολον δέ and omits τοῦ after ἀντί.

Beside line 55: ῥαχίζειν τὸ με[  
ραντὰ μαροδ[  
κλεως ῥαχίωσι[

Here follows Brunck, page 6, on 55, from διὰ τὸ τὴν πρώτην to end. The MS adds τὴν before ῥάχιν and reads δέ instead of καί after μεταφορᾶς. This is the only one of the scholia in the MS to appear also in the editions of P. Elmsley (*Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias septem*, Oxford, 1825, page 205, on line 56) and P. Papageorgius (*Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias vetera*, Leipzig, 1888, page 7, on line 56). Papageorgius agrees with our MS by adding τὴν before ῥάχιν, but he adds it in pointed brackets. Both he and Elmsley read καί with Brunck, against this MS, and both read μεγάλα instead of μεγάλως, against both Brunck and the manuscript.

# Three Byzantine Cameos

*Marvin C. Ross*

THE MUSEUMS of public and private collections in Europe and America contain a considerable number of Byzantine cameos from the Middle Period—in fact a far larger number than one would think, since there is no corpus of them, many remain unpublished, and those that have been published have appeared in widely scattered catalogues, articles, and books.<sup>1</sup> This note is devoted to three examples, one still with its original mount, the others of unusual and striking shape.

The mounted example<sup>2</sup> (Plate 5) is in the museum within the Kremlin walls that has so many Byzantine treasures accumulated by the tsars over the centuries, some at the time they were made, others later. The front of the pendant (fig. 1) is a sardonyx in two layers, carved with the bust of St. Nicholas. The cameo, of fine quality and of interest in itself, is one of the few Byzantine cameos still set in their original mounting. Thus it gives us a better understanding of the original appearance of these cameos. At the top is a hinge held by a pin with two pearls so that the reliquary could be suspended at the neck. The setting is in silver. The back of this setting (fig. 2) has in repoussé a superb bust of St. Spiridon, identified by his name in Greek letters. It has the shape of a rectangle with four semi-circles, one at each side, a typical shape in Byzantine art. The marginal spaces are filled with leaf-motifs in repoussé with a punched background to make them stand out clearly in relief.

The quality of the cameo and the silver repoussé reverse is fine. The silver relief indicates a date of the late tenth or eleventh century.

<sup>1</sup>Since this note was written, Dr. Hans Wentzel has published an important article on dated Byzantine cameos of the Middle Period, "Datierete und datierbare byzantinische Kameen," *Festschrift Friederich Winkler* (Berlin 1959) 9-21.

<sup>2</sup>I thank Dr. Panko, the Assistant Director of the museum in the Kremlin, for photographs of this pendant.

It may be compared for technique to the reliquary from the Sainte Chapelle in the Louvre,<sup>3</sup> which is generally attributed to the eleventh century. The leaf-decorations seem somewhat later in date than the reliquary of the True Cross, made for Basil the Proedrus, now at Limburg-on-the-Lahn.<sup>4</sup> Thus we can attribute the pendant (and the cameo, since it is in its original setting) to the late tenth or eleventh century, and add to the Middle Byzantine Period an object of great beauty.

The two other cameos, one in Prague and one in Venice, are unusual in that they are crucifixes carved out of hardstones and the figures on them are carved in relief. Thus the craftsmen had a double task, one to cut the crucifixes from the stones (the crucifix in Prague also has a loop at the top for a cord), the other to carve them as though they were cameos.

The first of these crucifixes is of green jasper (Plate 6, fig. 3) and is set in a reliquary of the Holy Blood of Our Lord in the Sanctuary of the Treasury in San Marco in Venice.<sup>5</sup> The reliquary of the Holy Blood, superbly mounted in a stand during the Gothic period by a Venetian silversmith, is said to have been brought to Venice by the Doge Dandolo in 1204 after the sack of Constantinople. Judging from the crystal, silver, gilt, and enamel, I see no reason to doubt this, since the reliquary is purely Byzantine and doubtless earlier in date than 1204. The crucifix in jasper seems not to have been made for the reliquary, since it was once slightly larger, but the reliquary was made especially to take the crucifix, so that the cameo-crucifix also antedates the removal of the reliquary to Venice.

The jasper crucifix has a shape frequently seen in Byzantine art — equal-armed, with a semi-circle at the end of each arm. On it is engraved a cross with the plaque for the titulus, a suppedaneum, and at the foot of the cross the skull of Adam to indicate Golgotha. Christ is carved in relief, suspended on the cross. Above the cross are engraved stylized representations of the sun and the moon,

<sup>3</sup>A. Grabar, *L'art byzantin* (Paris 1938) pl. 42.

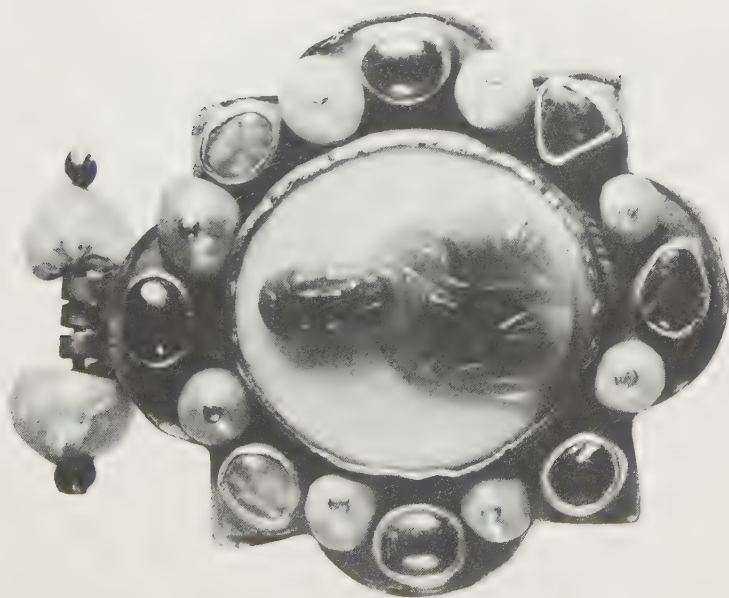
<sup>4</sup>See *Das Münster* 8 (1955) Hefte 7-8, pp. 201-240.

<sup>5</sup>I am most indebted to the authorities of San Marco for permitting me to have the reliquary opened so that the cameo could be properly photographed and to Oswald Boehm of Venice for making the photographs.





*Figure 2. Reverse*



*Figure 1. Obverse*

PENDANT IN THE KREMLIN MUSEUM



*Figure 3. Cameo set in  
Reliquary of the Holy Blood  
in San Marco, Venice*



*Figure 4. Cameo of the Virgin  
in the Walters Art Gallery*

CAMEOS IN VENICE AND BALTIMORE



*Figure 5. Obverse*



*Figure 6. Reverse*

DOUBLE CAMEO IN THE COLLECTION OF COUNT CINI IN VENICE



CAMEO SET IN THE CROWN OF BOHEMIA, PRAGUE



pagan symbols that survived into Christian times. The quality of the jasper cameo is not equal, for example, to the truly superb tenth century Virgin (fig. 4) from a crucifixion or deesis group in the Walters Art Gallery. It seems closer in its rough carving to a cameo (Plate 7, figs. 5 and 6) formerly in the De Gruneisen Collection and now in the collection of Count Cini in Venice.<sup>6</sup> De Gruneisen, on the basis of the inscription on the cameo, attributed it to the reign of the emperor of Constantinople, Alexius Dukas V. It is to this period that the jasper crucifix should be attributed.

The other crucifix, carved from a sapphire (Plate 8), is known to me only in photographs, one of them in color.<sup>7</sup> It is even more remarkable in one way, in that the stone is carved at the top with a crosswise hole, through which a cord or chain could be passed. Carved on the crucifix in cameo are Christ suspended on the Cross, the bust of an archangel above, the half-figure of Mary at the left and of John at the right. There may have been a skull at the bottom. The crucifix is now mounted in the crown of Bohemia and is kept in the vault in the cathedral of St. Vitus.

Sapphires were especially prized for cameos by the Byzantines. A number are known in museums, one of the most notable being the one with the bust of Christ in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.<sup>8</sup> The blue of the sapphire may have recalled the blue of heaven and so of Paradise promised by the sacrifice of Our Lord on the Cross. The sapphire cameo-crucifix in Prague, like the jasper crucifix in Venice, is somewhat roughly carved and probably should be attributed also to a Byzantine craftsman and dated about A.D. 1200.

These three objects add considerably to our knowledge of Middle Byzantine art. The cameo in the Kremlin gives us an excellent idea of the appearance of the many unmounted cameos now in museums and private collections before they lost their settings. The other two are unusual — unique, one might say — for their form. All three are remarkable both for their beauty and for the material in which they are carved.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

December, 1959

<sup>6</sup>See Wentzel, *op cit.*, figs. 2, 3.

<sup>7</sup>On the cover of *Zprávy památkové Péče* 15 (1955) Hefte 6-8; also p. 258. I owe the photograph to the Slavic Institute in Prague.

<sup>8</sup>*Handbook of the Collection* (Washington 1955) no. 216.

# Nietzsche and Greek Studies

James A. Coulter

THE CAREER OF FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE is of special interest and importance in the history of classical learning; in it we may see, magnified to great proportions, the process which is at the heart of every successful classical education. For in Nietzsche an eager and penetrating sensibility was awakened to a re-evaluation of his own beliefs, and of those of his society, under the impetus of the philosophic spirit of the ancient world. The bulk of Nietzschean scholarship has been devoted,<sup>1</sup> and rightly so, to an examination of the mature works of the last decade of Nietzsche's active life; nevertheless, in view of the momentous consequences which Nietzsche's classical studies had for the spirit and intention of his philosophy, it will be valuable briefly to survey his career as student and teacher and to point out the appearance and development of those interests which were the product of his sympathetic insight and powerful enthusiasm.

<sup>1</sup>An essay, couched in a somewhat dithyrambic style, which discusses the development of the young Nietzsche is "Der Weg des fruehen Nietzsche" by Heinz Heimsoeth in *Die Neue Rundschau* 50 (1940) 592-602. The author uses, as the basis of his biographical sketch, the eight volumes of essays, notes, and letters published between 1933 and 1940 by the C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung of Munich from material reposing in the Nietzsche Archives; the official title of this collection is *Friedrich Nietzsche, Werke und Briefe: Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. The fault of this essay, perhaps attributable to the influence of the National Socialist regime, is that it is a one-sided examination of Nietzsche's development in the context of his German cultural inheritance; this kind of special approach of intellectual influences is, of course, entirely valid, but only provided that the limitation is clearly stated. Heimsoeth does not do this, and anyone who has examined the collection which he used, and observed the overwhelmingly philological character of this *Nachlass*, will be amazed at the sparse treatment of this element in what purports to be a "geistige Jugend-Biographie." Another fault, certainly, is an exaggeration of Nietzsche's intellectual isolation during this period.

Another work, more specifically on the subject at hand, is Ernst Howald's study *Friedrich Nietzsche und die Klassische Philologie* (Gotha 1920). This examines the "struggle" between Nietzsche and the philologists, but has been largely outmoded since the publication of the Munich collection. This collection will be used in the present essay, and will be referred to as the *Gesamtausgabe*.

Nietzsche was trained for the profession of classical philologist in an age when scholars were securing the foundations of a great new science, and we may speculate that the intellectual boldness and integrity of his philological masters were for the young Nietzsche the first intimations of qualities which were to become indispensable to his notion of the superior man. At the celebrated Schulpforta his early training was conducted with a strenuousness which seems scarcely credible today by masters who were, in addition, accomplished and serious scholars; among their number were two men, Wilhelm Corssen and Hermann Peter, whose researches still entitle them to a small but secure position of honor in the history of Latin studies. As was usual, the authors occupying a preponderant position in this curriculum were the Romans, of whose intentions a more than casual understanding was developed by the use of the Latin essay; these essays explored, for the most part, notions of ancient historiography and analyzed the ethical intentions of various character portraits found in the ancient historians. The bias of this curriculum was, then, preponderantly Latin. But even so, Nietzsche's enduring sympathy with the ancient Hellenes was clearly manifesting itself in this early work. If one were to single out from this body of juvenilia anything which was outstanding with respect to precocious insight and accomplished literary and scholarly technique, it would be his essays devoted to Greek subjects. Of these there are two which are especially striking, both having been written in the latter part of his last year at the Schulpforta. The earlier was a kind of senior thesis whose completion entitled the young Nietzsche to a certificate equivalent to our diploma. This essay,<sup>2</sup> ambitious in scope, was a detailed and multifaceted examination of the first choral ode of the *Oedipus Rex*. Of special interest in it are his speculations on the use of choral music in Greek tragedy, an investigation which also considered such subjects as musical effects and manner of performance. Here, certainly, is an early effort to solve an aesthetic problem whose first major formulation was to disturb the scholarly world when the *Birth of Tragedy* was published eight years later. In a manner which would remain characteristic of Nietzsche, this essay express-

<sup>2</sup>"Primum Oedipodis regis carmen choricum," *Gesamtausgabe*, 2. 364-399.

es, next to the germ of a future insight, a belief which the more mature Nietzsche will soon have rejected with all the vehemence of his tragic honesty. For in his analysis of Oedipus' guilt, he advances the notion that Oedipus, himself guiltless, is the tool of a divine justice eager to avenge the cruelty of Laius' and Iocasta's exposure of their young child. Such "justifications" of human suffering would surely have awakened in the older Nietzsche sentiments of disgust, since he came, in time, completely to reject the mechanisms of a divine teleology. As a final item of this period, we should mention a short but very percipient analysis<sup>3</sup> of the relation of Alcibiades' praise of Socrates to the other speeches of the *Symposium*.

In the autumn of 1864 young Nietzsche, just turned twenty, matriculated at the University of Bonn with the intention of studying theology, a project which was soon discarded in favor of a career in classical philology. This decision, which was inevitable on grounds of temperament, was hastened all the more by the imposing figures of Friedrich Ritschl and Otto Jahn, who were at this time professors of classical philology at the Rhineland university. He at once immersed himself in the study of an age which was to remain for him a convincing counter-ideal to those values of Christianity by which he considered the modern world to have been corrupted. This period he called the Tragic Age of Greece; its presiding spirit was Dionysus, symbol of the everlasting fertility and vitality of human life. Accordingly, the whole of his philological work with almost no exceptions is concerned with the period of Greek thought and art which ended with the death of tragedy at the end of the fifth century.

His investigations of this period were wide-ranging and conducted with the greatest scholarly care. In his studies of the early Greek epic he saw the establishment of an accurate chronology<sup>4</sup> as a necessary prerequisite to a critical account of this genre. The Greek lyric poets he also found congenial, no doubt because of the aristocratic refinement and restraint of their art; he was especially

<sup>3</sup>"Ueber das Verhältniß der Rede des Alcibiades zu den übrigen Reden des platonischen Symposions," *ibid.*, 2.420-424.

<sup>4</sup>"Chronologie der Epiker," etc., *ibid.*, 4.12-31.



sympathetic with Theognis<sup>5</sup> by virtue of the strongly anti-popular sentiments of this lonely and self-conscious exile. A still valuable introduction to the history of the Greek lyric poets is a series of lectures<sup>6</sup> put in its final shape the year before his retirement in 1879 from the chair of classical philology at Basel.

These investigations were, of course, subsidiary, and the bulk of his creative effort was diverted into a study of the pre-Socratics whom he valued as the great representatives in the history of Greek thought of the tragic outlook. This outlook he defined as a will to understanding the totality of existence, even in its most cruelly paradoxical manifestations; a position which he considered the Socratic ethic, with its dogmatic levelling of all contradictions, to have completely undermined. Although Nietzsche was eventually to publish his insights into the thought of this period in a series of essays<sup>7</sup> written in a most abstract and figurative style, he was nevertheless quite willing to pursue his preliminary studies, with a good scholar's conscience, by means of a detailed examination of ancient *testimonia*. He saw that it was not possible to construct a valid history of ancient philosophy without a thorough understanding of the doxographical tradition; this conviction resulted in his first extensive publication,<sup>8</sup> a study of the sources of Diogenes Laertius. Nietzsche's student years at Leipzig, where he had followed Ritschl after the latter's rupture with the University of Bonn in 1865, and his first years at Basel were fruitful ones, witnessing the publication, in the distinguished *Rheinisches Museum*, of a series of articles on early Greek literature and thought. This sense of enthusiastic identification with his profession could not, however, last very long,<sup>9</sup> and the growing unorthodoxy of his procedure

<sup>5</sup>His first publication discussed the history of the text of this author in an article entitled "Zur Geschichte der Theognideischen Spruchsammlung," *RM* 22 (1867) 161-200.

<sup>6</sup>"Griechische Lyriker, Vorlesungen von Prof. Nietzsche," *Gesamtausgabe*, 5.369-426.

<sup>7</sup>This was *Die Philosophie im tragischen Zeitalter der Griechen*, which received its final shape in 1875.

<sup>8</sup>"De Laertii Diogenis Fontibus," part I, *RM* 23 (1868) 632-653; part II, *RM* 24 (1869) 181-228.

<sup>9</sup>T. M. Campbell has discussed Nietzsche's relations with his academic colleagues in two excellent articles. The first, "Nietzsche and the Academic Mind," printed in the *PMLA* 62 (1947) 1183-1196, treats the vicissitudes of Nietzsche's relations with two of his Basel colleagues, Franz Overbeck and Jakob Burckhardt; he further traces the development of Erwin Rohde's increasing alienation from the atheism of Nietzsche's mature philosophy.

culminated in the publication of the *Birth of Tragedy* in 1872, an event which incited the young Wilamowitz to publish his angry review, *Zukunftsphilologie!*<sup>10</sup>

This was in 1872, but we may see in a moving self-portrait<sup>11</sup> written in 1868 an early indication that Nietzsche was bitterly aware of a destiny which would not let him rest content with the plaudits of the scholarly world:

At this time the founding of the Philological Society took place. One evening, several students formerly at Bonn (of whom I was one) had been invited to Ritschl's home. After dinner our host, in animated conversation, planted the idea which was to prove the basis for the Philological Society. The women were just then in the next room, so that nothing disturbed the excited discourse of the man, who knew from experience what effectiveness and influence such groups could have. The thought took root with the four of us, i.e., Wissner, Roscher, Arnold and myself. Looking about in the circle of our acquaintances, we invited those whom we had chosen to the "deutsche Bierstube" for the purpose of setting up this society. Eight days later we had our first regular meeting. Being without a president for the first half year, we always chose a chairman from our midst at the beginning of the evening. And what animated and unrestrained debates they were! . . . It was on the 18th of January, 1866, that I delivered my first paper and thereby made, in a certain sense, my debut in the Classical Society. I had announced that I would talk on the final rescension of the *Theognidea*. Here, in the vaulted room, I was able, after overcoming my first shyness, to speak with force and emphasis, and I experienced the success of seeing my words treated with the greatest respect by my friends. Late that night, I came home, extraordinarily excited, and sat down at my desk, in order to write bitter words in my book of meditations and to eradicate from my consciousness, as much as I could, the vanity which I had so enjoyed.

After the publication of the *Birth of Tragedy*, Nietzsche entered the larger arena of European thought and ceased, strictly speaking, to be a classical philologist, a fact which ultimately justifies Wilamowitz's bitter attack. But although Nietzsche discarded the methods of classical philology in favor of a broad attack on the

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The other is more specific, and treats the growing dichotomy of Nietzsche's philological and philosophical intentions in the early years of his professorship at Basel ("Aspects of Nietzsche's Struggle with Philology," *Ger. Rev.* 12 [1937] 251-266).

<sup>10</sup>See J. H. Groth, "Wilamowitz-Möllendorf [sic] on Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy*," *J Hist Ideas* 11 (1950) 179-190. Groth seeks to justify Wilamowitz's position on perhaps too lofty a level. In so doing, he places Nietzsche in the same class of thinkers as Spengler and Friedell — a conclusion few would accept.

<sup>11</sup>From "Rückblick auf meine zwei Leipziger Jahre," *Gesamtausgabe*, 3.299.

ideals of contemporary European society, the ancient Hellenes, as they were before the god Dionysus was mocked out of existence, remained for him the great exemplars of a powerful and honest life of thought and feeling.

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